

AN IMPARTIAL
HISTORY
OF THE
WAR IN AMERICA,
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
HER COLONIES,
FROM
Its Commencement to the end of the Year 1779.

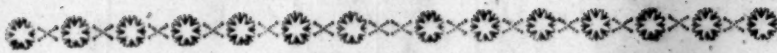
Exhibiting a circumstantial, connected, and complete Account
of the real CAUSES, RISE, and PROGRESS of the WAR,
interspersed with Anecdotes and Characters of the different
Commanders, and Accounts of such Personages in Congress
as have distinguished themselves during the Contest.

WITH AN
APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
A Collection of Interesting and Authentic PAPERS tending
to elucidate the History.

*Illustrated with a Variety of beautiful Copper Plates, representing
real and animated Likenesses of those celebrated Generals who
have distinguished themselves in the important Contest.*

L O N D O N:
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M DCC LXXX.

THE
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OF THE
Y. R. O. T. I.



P R E F A C E.

IN the recording of events, where-
in the passions and prejudices of
mankind, have been so materially in-
terested, and where opinions have
been so various both in regard to the
equity, as well as the whole operative
system of the American war, the task
of the historian becomes peculiarly
arduous and difficult; people can
scarcely judge with temper of such an
history in a century after the events,
nor will it be found possible for to
escape censure, either from the vio-
lence of one party, or from the over-
heated imagination of another; in
this predicament if *knowledge*, *impar-*
tiality, and a regard to *truth*, guide
the historian's pen, and that his sole
object is to give a clear and distinct
narrative of facts, from the best and
most authentic documents, without
pretending dogmatically to decide, in
a controversy, upon which the great-
est men of the age, have differed in
their

their sentiments, his subject becomes highly interesting.

It is upon this principle that the present work lays claim to the patronage of the public, wherein every event is faithfully recorded, the motives and secret springs which led to this unhappy contest, are placed in the truest and most impartial light, the various forms and modes of local legislation, peculiar to the different provinces, are clearly delineated, a distinct account of the colonization of America in general, wherein every matter of importance that has happened since its first discovery, is plainly pointed to the view of the reader: in short, the Editor hopes he may say, without the imputation of vanity, that this work will prove friendly to constitutional liberty, lead the mind to form just notions of legislation and government, and prove worthy of the acceptance of the public.

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ports,

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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
AMERICA,
FROM ITS FIRST DISCOVERY,
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT CIVIL WAR.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

America first discovered in 1492 by Columbus. His proposal rejected by several courts, but adopted by Isabella of Spain. Discovers Hispaniola. Mexico conquered by Cortez. Brief account of that great empire. Peru reduced under the dominion of Spain. Extent and boundaries of America. General description thereof. Account of the antient Indians.

THIS vast continent of America was entirely 1492.
unknown to the European, and all other nations in the world, till the year 1492, when it was discovered by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of Genoa. This man, having somehow or other obtained a more just notion of the figure of the earth than most of his cotemporaries, projected a scheme of sailing to the East Indies by directing his course Westward. The reason he had for so strange a project was indeed the errors in the maps which were made of those Eastern countries at that time; for by them the East Indies were placed so very far to the Eastward, that it appeared to Columbus, the navigation must go a great deal more than half round the globe before they could come at any part of them. In consequence of this supposition, the thought was very rational, that it would
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Columbus, a native of Genoa, first adopts the scheme of directing his course for the East-Indies, westwardly.

His
scheme
is reject-
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but is ta-
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by Isabel-
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be a much shorter, and less dangerous voyage to sail Westward, as they believed they would fall in with the Eastern parts of Asia before they had sail'd round half the circumference of the globe; as no part of the world can be distant from another more than half this circumference, provided the shortest way to it is taken. But how Columbus, at that time, when it was reckoned a mortal heresy to say that the earth was round, came to have notions so different from the common, and not only to imagine that the earth was spherical, but that its circumference did not extend to a certain space, we are not certainly informed. Be this, however, as it will, Columbus was willing that his own country should reap the benefits of his superior knowledge in this respect: and therefore he communicated his new scheme to the court of Genoa, who rejected it as an absurdity. He then applied successively to the courts of France, Britain, and Portugal; from all of which he met with a reception of the same kind; and had the mortification to find, that his own superiority of knowledge to the rest of mankind only served to make him their laughing stock. At last he applied to Spain, where, after eight years attendance, perhaps the curiosity natural to her sex, induced Queen Isabella to raise money on her jewels, in order to defray the expence of his expedition.

Sets sail,
and finds
land 33
days af-
ter his
depar-
ture.

In 1492, then Columbus set sail from Spain, with three ships, in search of countries hitherto undiscovered, and which almost every one believed to exist only in imagination. His sailors were with great difficulty kept in subjection; but being kept in hopes of land, sometimes by great flights of birds, and at others, by observing quantities of weeds floating in the sea, they were kept from breaking out into open mutiny, till the discovery of land, after a voyage of 33 days, put an end to their fears. In this voyage the variation of the compass was first discovered, which occasioned such an alarm among Columbus's sailors,

failors, that they were with difficulty prevented from throwing him overboard.

Columbus first landed on one of the Bahama islands; but finding nothing there of consequence, he steered Southward, where he discovered the island of Hispaniola, which promising considerable quantities of gold, he therefore proposed to make the centre of his discoveries; and having left some of his companions, as the basis of a new colony, he returned to Spain.

The island of Hispaniola discovered.

On his return, he found no difficulty in procuring necessaries for a second voyage. A fleet of 17 sail was immediately fitted out, and 1500 persons, some of them of high rank, prepared to accompany Columbus, now when they hoped to share his good fortune. In this second voyage he discovered most of the West-India islands; and in a third, he discovered the continent of South America, sailing up the river Oronoko. After having thus discovered the continent, and made settlements in the islands of America, the malice of his enemies prevailed so far against him, that he was sent to Europe in irons. His innocence, however, got the better of their calumnies, and this great man died in peace at Valladolid in 1506.

Returns to Spain, equips a new fleet and makes a 2d and 3d voyage.

The succeeding governors of Cuba and Hispaniola rendered themselves as infamous by their cruelties, as Columbus had been famous for his virtues. These islands contained mines of gold; the Indians only knew where they were plac'd, and the extreme avarice of the Spaniards, hurried them to acts of the most shocking violence and cruelty against those unhappy men, who, they believed, concealed from them part of their treasure. In a few days they depopulated Hispaniola, which contained three millions of inhabitants; and Cuba, that had about 600,000. Bartholomew de la Casas, a witness

The effects of avarice.

witness of those barbarous depopulations, says, that the Spaniards went out with their dogs to hunt after men. The unhappy savages, almost naked and unarmed, were pursued like deer into the thickest of the forests, devoured by dogs, killed with gunshot, or surprized and burnt in their habitations.

The empire of Mexico subdued by the Spaniards

A description of that empire.

The Spaniards had hitherto only visited the continent: but conjecturing that this part of the new world would afford a still more valuable conquest, Fernando Cortez was dispatched from Cuba with 600 men, 18 horses, and a small number of field pieces. With this inconsiderable force, he proposed and actually did subdue the most powerful state on the continent of America: this was the empire of Mexico; rich, powerful, and inhabited by millions of Indians, passionately fond of war, and then headed by Montezuma, whose fame in arms struck terror into the neighbouring nations, and extended over one half the globe. This empire had subsisted for ages; its inhabitants were a polished and intelligent people. They knew, like the Egyptians of old, whose wisdom is still admired in this particular, that the year consisted nearly of 365 days. Their superiority in military affairs was the object of admiration and terror over all the continent; and their government, founded on the sure basis of laws combined with religion, seemed to bid defiance to time itself. Mexico, the capital of the empire, situated in the middle of a spacious lake, was the noblest monument of American industry: it communicated with the continent by immense causeways, which were carried through the lake. The city was admired for its buildings, all of stone, its squares and market-places, the shops which glittered with gold and silver, and the sumptuous palaces of Montezuma, some erected on columns of jasper, and containing whatever was most rare, curious, or useful. Cortez, in his march, met with feeble opposition from the nations along the coast of Mexico, who

who were terrified at their appearance. Wherever the Spaniards marched, they spared no age or sex, nothing sacred or profane. At last, the inhabitants of Tlascal, and some other states on the coast, despairing of being able to oppose them, entered into their alliance. Cortez, thus re-inforced, marched onward to Mexico: and in his progress discovered a volcano of sulphur and salt-petre, whence he could supply himself with powder. Montezuma heard of his progress, without daring to oppose it, though he commanded 30 vassals, of whom each could appear at the head of 100,000 combatants, armed with bows and arrows.

By sending a rich present of gold which only whetted the Spanish avarice, Montezuma hastened the approach of the enemy. No opposition was made to their entry into his capital. Cortez had good reason, however, to distrust the affected politeness of this emperor, under which he suspected some plot for his destruction to be concealed; but he had no pretence for violence; Montezuma loaded him with kindness, and with gold in greater quantities than he demanded, and his palace was surrounded with artillery, the most frightful of all engines to the Americans. At last a circumstance fell out which afforded Cortez a pretext for beginning hostilities. In order to secure a communication by sea to receive the necessary reinforcements, he had erected a fort, and left a small garrison behind him at Vera Cruz, which has since become an emporium of commerce between Europe and America. He understood that the Americans in the neighbourhood had attacked this garrison in his absence, and that a Spaniard was killed in the action, that Montezuma himself was privy to this violence, and had issued orders that the head of the slain Spaniard should be carried through his provinces, to destroy a belief, which then prevailed among them, that the Europeans were immortal. Upon receiving this in-

intelligence, Cortez went in person to the emperor, attended by a few of his most experienced officers. Montezuma pleaded innocence, in which Cortez seemed extremely ready to believe him, though at the same time he alledged that the Spaniards in general would never be persuaded of it unless he returned along with them to their residence, which would remove all jealousy between the two nations. Thus Montezuma, in the middle of his own palace, and surrounded by his guards, gave himself up a prisoner, to be disposed of according to the inclination of his enemies. Cortez had now got into his hand an engine by which every thing might be accomplished. The Americans had the highest respect, or rather a superstitious veneration for their emperor. Cortez, therefore, by keeping him in his power, allowing him to enjoy every mark of royalty but his freedom, maintained an easy sovereignty over Mexico, by governing its prince. Did the Mexicans, grown familiar with the Spaniards, begin to abate of their respect? Montezuma was the first to teach them more politeness. Was there a tumult, excited through the cruelty or avarice of the Spaniards? Montezuma ascended the battlements of his prison, and harangued the Mexicans into order and submission. This farce continued a long while; but on one of these occasions, a stone from an unknown hand, struck the emperor on the temple, which in a few days occasioned his death. The Mexicans, now elected a new prince, the famous Gatinozin, who from the beginning discovered an implacable animosity against the Spanish name. Under his conduct the unhappy Mexicans rushed against those very men, whom a little before they had offered to worship. The Spaniards, however, by the dextrous management of Cortez, were too firmly established to be expelled from Mexico. The immense tribute which the grandes of this country had agreed to pay to the crown of Spain, amounted to 600,000 marks of pure gold, besides
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an amazing quantity of precious stones, a fifth part of which was distributed among the soldiers, stimulated their avarice and their courage, and made them willing to perish rather than part with so precious a booty. The Mexicans, however, made no small efforts for independence; but all their valour, and despair itself, gave way before what they called the Spanish thunder. Gatimozin and the empress were taken prisoners. This was the prince who, when he lay stretched on burning coals, by order of one of the receivers of the King of Spain's exchequer, who inflicted the torture to make him discover into what part of the lake he had thrown his riches, said to his high priest, condemned to the same punishment, and making hideous cries, "Do you take me to lie on a bed of roses?" The high priest remained silent, and died in an act of obedience to his sovereign. Cortez, by getting a second emperor into his hands, made a complete conquest of Mexico; with which the Castille D'Or, Darien, and other provinces, fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

While Cortez, and his soldiers, were employed in reducing Mexico, they got intelligence of the empire of Peru, which extended in length near 30 degrees, and was the only other country in America, which deserved the name of a civilized kingdom. This extensive country, more important than Mexico itself, was reduced by the endeavours, and at the expence, of three private persons. The names of these were, Francis Pizarro, Almagro, and Lucques, a priest, and a man of considerable fortune. The two former were natives of Panama, men of low education. Pizarro, could neither read nor write. They sailed over into Spain, and without difficulty, obtained a grant of what they should conquer. Pizarro then set out for the conquest of Peru, with 250 foot, 60 horse, and 12 small pieces of

The Peruvian Empire, submits to the Spanish yoke.

of cannon, drawn by slaves from the conquered countries.

Some account of that country.

Mango Capac, the founder of the Peruvian empire, having observed that the people of Peru were naturally superstitious, and had a particular veneration for the sun, pretended to be descended from that luminary, whose worship he was sent to establish, and whose authority he was entitled to bear. By this story, he easily deceived a credulous people, and brought a large extent of territory under his jurisdiction. A larger still he subdued by his arms; but both the force, and the deceit, he employed for the most laudable purposes, and there was no part of America, where agriculture and the arts were so assiduously cultivated, and where the people were of so mild and ingenuous manners. A race of princes succeeded Mango, distinguished by the title of Yncas, and revered by the people as the descendants of their great God the Sun. The twelfth of these was now on the throne, and named Atabalipa. His father Guaiana Capac, had conquered the province of Quito, which now makes a part of Spanish Peru. To secure himself in the possession, he had married the daughter of the natural prince of that country, and of this marriage was sprung Atabalipa. His elder brother, named Huescar, of a different mother, had claimed the succession to the whole of his father's dominions, not excepting Quito, which devolved on the younger by a double connection. A civil war had been kindled on this account, which ended in favour of Atabalipa, who detained Huescar, as a prisoner, in the tower of Cusco, the capital of the Peruvian empire. Atabalipa, instead of opposing the Spaniards, set himself to procure their favour. Pizarro, however, whose temper partook of the meanness of his education, had no conception of dealing gently with those he called Barbarians. While he was engaged in con-

conference therefore with Atabalipa, his men, as they had been previously instructed, furiously attacked the guards of that prince, and having butchered 5000 of them, as they were pressing forward, without regard to their particular safety to defend the sacred person of their monarch, seized the emperor himself, whom they carried off to the Spanish quarters. Atabalipa was not long in their hands before he began to treat of his ransom. On this occasion, the ancient ornaments, amassed by a long line of magnificent kings, the hallowed treasures of the most magnificent temples, were brought out to save him, who was the support of the kingdom, and of the religion. While Pizarro was engaged in this negotiation, by which he proposed, without releasing the emperor to get into his possession an immense quantity of his beloved gold, the arrival of Almagro caused some embarrassment in his affairs. The friendship, or rather the external shew of friendship between these men, was solely founded on the principle of avarice. When their interests therefore happened to interfere, it was not to be thought that any measures could be kept between them. Pizarro expected to enjoy the most considerable share of the treasure arising from the emperor's ransom, because he had the chief hand in acquiring it. Almagro insisted on being upon an equal footing; and at length, lest the common cause might suffer by any rupture between them, this disposition was agreed to. The ransom was paid in without delay, a sum exceeding their conception, but not capable to gratify their avarice. It exceeded 1,500,000*l.* sterling, and considering the value of money at that time, was prodigious: and the dividend, after deducting a fifth for the king of Spain, and the shares of the chief commanders and officers, to each private soldier was above 2000*l.* English money.

The immense ransom was only a farther reason
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for detaining Atabalipa in confinement, until they discovered whether he had another treasure to gratify their avarice. But whether they believed he had no more to give, and were unwilling to employ their troops in guarding a prince, from whom they expected no farther advantage, or that Pizarro had conceived an aversion against the Peruvian emperor, it is certain, that by his command Atabalipa was put to death. Upon the death of the Ynca, the principal nobility set up the full brother of Huefcar; Pizarro set up a son of Atabalipa; and two generals of the Peruvians endeavoured to establish themselves by the assistance of the army. These distractions, which in another empire would have been extremely hurtful, and even here at another time, were at present rather advantageous to the Peruvian affairs. The candidates fought against one another, their battles accustomed the harmless people to blood; and such is the preference of a spirit of any kind raised in a nation to total lethargy, that in the course of those quarrels among themselves, the inhabitants of Peru assumed some courage against the Spaniards, whom they regarded as the ultimate cause of all their calamities. The losses which the Spaniards met with in these quarrels, though inconsiderable in themselves, were rendered dangerous, by lessening the opinion of their invincibility, which they were careful to preserve among the inhabitants of the new world. This consideration engaged Pizarro to conclude a truce; and this interval he employed in laying the foundations of the famous city of Lima, and in settling the Spaniards in the country. But as soon as a favourable opportunity offered, he renewed the war against the Indians, and after many difficulties, made himself master of Cusco, the capital of the empire. While he was engaged in these conquests, new grants and supplies arrived from Spain. Pizarro obtained 200 leagues along the sea-coast, to the Southward of what had been before granted, and Almagro 200 leagues to the

the Southward, of Pizarro's government. This division occasioned a warm dispute between them, each reckoning Cusco within his own district. But the dexterity of Pizarro brought about a reconciliation. He persuaded his rival, that the country which really belonged to him, lay to the Southward of Cusco, and that it was no way inferior in riches, and might be as easily conquered as Peru. He offered him his assistance in the expedition, the success of which he did not even call in question.

Almagro, that he might have the honour of subduing a kingdom for himself, listened to his advice; and penetrated with great danger and difficulty, into Chili; losing many of his men as he passed over mountains of an immense height, and always covered with snow. He reduced, however, a very considerable part of this country. But the Peruvians now made an effort for regaining their capital, in which, Pizarro being indisposed, and Almagro removed at a great distance, they were well nigh successful. The latter, however, no sooner got notice of the siege of Cusco, than, relinquishing all views of distant conquests, he returned, to secure the grand object of their former labours. He raised the siege with great slaughter of the assailants: but having obtained possession of the city, he was unwilling to give it up to Pizarro, who now approached with an army, and knew of no other enemy but the Peruvians. This dispute occasioned a long and bloody struggle between them, in which the turns of fortune were various, and the resentment fierce on both sides; because the fate of the vanquished was certain death. This was the lot of Almagro, who, in an advanced age, fell a victim to the security of a rival, in whose dangers and triumphs he had long shared, and with whom, from the beginning of the enterprize, he had been intimately connected. During the course of this civil war, many Peruvians served in the Spanish armies, and
learned,

learned, from the practice of Christians, to butcher one another. That blinded nation, however, at length opened their eyes, and took a very remarkable resolution. They saw the ferocity of the Europeans, their unextinguishable resentment and avarice, and they conjectured that these passions would never permit their contests to subside. Let us retire, said they, from among them, let us fly to our mountains; they will speedily destroy one another, and then we may return in peace to our former habitations. This resolution was instantly put in practice; the Peruvians dispersed, and left the Spaniards in their capital. Had the force on each side been exactly equal, this singular policy of the natives of Peru, might have been attended with success. But the victory of Pizarro put an end to Almagro's life, and the hopes of the Peruvians, who have never since ventured to make head against the Spaniards.



Pizarro, now sole master of the field, and of the richest empire in the world, was still urged on by his ambition, to undertake new enterprizes. The Southern countries of America, into which he had some time before dispatched Almagro, offered the richest conquest. Towards this quarter, the mountain of Potosi, composed of entire silver, had been discovered, the shell of which only remains at present. He therefore followed the tract of Almagro into Chili, and reduced another part of that country. Orellana, one of his commanders, passed the Andes, and sailed down to the mouth of the river of Amazons: an immense navigation, which discovered a rich and delightful country, but as it is mostly flat, and therefore not abounding in minerals, the Spaniards then, and ever since, neglected it.

The success of Columbus soon inspired the other European nations with a desire of making new discoveries. About the time of his third voyage, the
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Portuguezé discovered Brazil, Sebastian-Cabot, a native of Bristol discovered the North-East coasts, which now form the British Empire in America, and Americus Vespufius, a merchant of Florence, sailed to the Southern continent, and being a man of address, had the honour of giving his name to this quarter of the globe.

Other
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← This great Western continent, (now denominated the New World,) extends from the 80 degree North, to the 56 degree South latitude; and where its breadth is known, from the 35 to the 136 degree of West longitude, from London, stretching between 8 and 9000 miles in length, and in its greatest breadth 3690. It has two summers and a double winter, and enjoys all the variety of climates which the earth affords. It is washed by the two great oceans. To the eastward it has the Atlantic, which divides it from Europe and Africa. To the west it has the Pacific, or great South-sea, by which it is separated from Asia. By these seas it carries on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the world. It is composed of two great continents, one on the North, the other upon the South, which are joined by the kingdom of Mexico, which forms a sort of isthmus 1500 miles long, and in one part at Darien, so extremely narrow, as to make the communication between the two oceans by no means difficult, being only 60 miles over. In the great gulph, which is formed between the isthmus, and the Northern and Southern continents, lye an infinite multitude of islands, many of them large, most of them fertile, and denominated the West-Indies, in contradistinction to the countries and islands of Asia, beyond the cape of Good-Hope, which are called the East-Indies.

Extent
and
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ries of
America.

Though America in general be not a mountainous country, it contains the greatest mountains in the world. In South America the Andes, or
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Cordilleras, run from North to South along the coast of the Pacific ocean. They exceed in length any chain of mountains in the other part of the globe; extending from the isthmus of Darien, to the streights of Magellan, they divide the whole Southern parts of America, and run a length of 4300 miles. Their height is as remarkable as their length, for though in part within the torrid zone, they are constantly covered with snow. In North America, which is chiefly composed of gentle ascents or level plains, we know of no considerable mountains, except those towards the pole, and that long ridge which lies on the back of our settlements, separating our colonies from Canada and Louisiana, which we call the Apalachian, or Alegency mountains; if that may be considered as a mountain, which upon one side is extremely lofty, but upon the other is nearly on a level with the rest of the country.

Rivers.

America is, without question, that part of the globe which is best watered; and that not only for the support of life, and all the purposes of fertility, but for the convenience of trade, and the intercourse of each part with the others. In North America, those vast tracts of country, situated beyond the Apalachian mountains, at an immense and unknown distance from the ocean, are watered by the inland seas, called the Lakes of Canada, which not only communicate with each other, but give rise to several great rivers, particularly the Mississippi, running from North to South till it falls into the gulph of Mexico, after a course, including its turnings, of 4500 miles, and receiving in its progress the vast tribute of the Illinois, the Misfaures, Ohio, and other great rivers, scarcely inferior to the Rhine, or the Danube; and on the North, the river St Laurence, running a contrary course from the Mississippi, till it empties itself into the ocean near Newfoundland, all of them being almost navigable to their heads, lay open the inmost recesses of this great continent, and afford such

such an inlet for commerce, as are capable of producing the greatest advantages. The Eastern side of North America, which makes a part of the British empire, besides the noble rivers Hudson, Delaware, Susquehana and Potowmack, supplies several others of great depth, length, and commodious navigation.

South America supplies much the two largest rivers (excepting the Mississippi) in the world, the river of Amazonas, and the Rio de la Plata, or Plate River. The first rising in Peru, not far from the South-Sea, passes from West to East, and falls into the ocean between Brazil and Guiana, after a course of more than 3000 miles, in which it receives a prodigious number of great and navigable rivers. The Rio de la Plata, rises in the heart of the country, and having its strength gradually augmented, by an accession of many powerful streams, discharges itself with such vehemence into the sea, as to make it taste fresh for many leagues from land. Besides these there are other rivers in South America, of which the Oronoko is the most considerable.

This country produces most of the metals, minerals, plants, drugs, fruits, trees, and wood, to be met with in the other parts of the world, and many of them in greater quantities and higher perfection. The gold and silver of America has supplied Europe with such immense quantities of those valuable metals, that they are become vastly more common; and the gold and silver of Europe now bears little proportion to the high price set upon them before the discovery of America. Product

Diamonds, pearls, emeralds, amethysts, and other valuable stones, are likewise produced here, which by being brought into Europe, have contributed to lower their value; and which, before the discovery of America, we were forced to buy at an extravagant

travagant rate from Asia, and Africa, through the hands of the Venetians and Genoese, who then engrossed the trade of the Eastern World.

Before we enter upon the history of the British settlements in America, however, it will be proper to give some account of the original inhabitants of those provinces which are now inhabited by our own countrymen; as the customs of those Indians are so very unlike those of any other nation, that an account of them cannot fail to be entertaining.

Ancient
Indians,
their
dress and
behaviour.

The bodies of the Indians in general, where the rays of the sun are not too violent, are uncommonly straight and well proportioned. Their muscles are firm and strong; their bodies and heads flattish, which is the effect of art; their features are regular, but their countenances fierce, their hair long, black, lank, and as strong as that of a horse. The colour of their skin is a reddish brown, admired among them, and heightened by the constant use of bears fat and paint. Their behaviour to those about them is regular, modest, and respectful. Ignorant of the arts of amusement, of which that of saying trifles agreeably is one of the most considerable, they never speak but when they have something important to observe; and all their actions, words, and even looks, are attended with some meaning. As they have no particular object to attach them to one place rather than another, they fly wherever they expect to find the necessaries of life in greatest abundance. Cities they have none. The different tribes or nations are extremely small, when compared with civilized societies, in which industry, arts, agriculture, and commerce, have united a vast number of individuals, whom a complicated luxury renders useful to one another. These small tribes live at an immense distance; they are separated by a desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of impenetrable and almost boundless forests.

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There is established in each society a certain species of government, which over the whole continent of America prevails with very little variation; because over the whole of this continent the manners and way of life are nearly similar and uniform. In every society there is to be considered the power of the chief and of the elders: and as the government inclines more to the one than to the other, it may be regarded as monarchial, or as a species of aristocracy. Among those tribes which are most engaged in war, the power of the chief is naturally predominant, because the idea of having a military leader, was the first source of his superiority, and the continual exigencies of the state requiring such a leader, will continue to support and even to enhance it. His power, however, is rather persuasive than coercive: he is revered as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice, and one act of ill-judged violence would pull him from the throne. The elders, in the other form of government, which may be considered as an aristocracy, have no more power. In some tribes indeed there are a kind of hereditary nobility, whose influence being constantly augmented by time, is more considerable. But this source of power, is too confined to be very common among the natives of America. In most countries therefore, age alone is sufficient for acquiring respect, influence, and authority. Among those persons business is conducted with the utmost simplicity. The heads of families meet together in a house or cabin, appointed for the purpose. Here the business is discussed, and here those of the nation, distinguished for their eloquence or wisdom, have an opportunity of displaying those talents. Their orators express themselves in a bold figurative style, stronger than refined, or rather softened nations, can well bear, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive. When the business is over, and they happen to be

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well provided in food, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. The feast is accompanied with a song, in which the real, or fabulous exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have dances too, though chiefly of the military kind, and their music and dancing accompanies every feast.

Their
manner
of mak-
ing war.

It often happens, that those different tribes or nations, scattered as they are at an immense distance from one another, meet in their excursions after prey. If there subsists no animosity between them, which seldom is the case, they behave in the most friendly and courteous manner. But if they happen to be in a state of war, or if there has been no previous intercourse between them, all who are not friends, are deemed enemies, and fight with the most savage fury.

War, if we except hunting, is the only employment of the men; as to every other concern, and even the little agriculture they enjoy, it is left to the women. Their most common motive for entering into war, when it does not arise from an accidental rencounter, is either to revenge themselves for the death of some lost friend, or to acquire prisoners, who may assist them in their hunting, and whom they adopt into their society. These wars are either undertaken by some private adventurers, or at the instance of the whole community. In the latter case, all the young men, who are disposed to go out to battle, give a bit of wood to the chief, as a token of their design to accompany him. The chief, who is to conduct them, fasts several days, during which he converses with no one, and is particularly careful to observe his dreams, which are generally as favourable as he could desire. A variety of other superstitions and ceremonies are observed. One of the most hideous is setting the war-kettle on the fire, as an emblem that they are going out

out to devour their enemies, which amongst some nations must formerly have been the case, since they still continue to express it in clear terms, and use an emblem significant of the ancient usage. Then they dispatch a porcelain, or large shell to their allies, inviting them to come along, and drink the blood of their enemies.

Having finished all the ceremonies previous to the war, they issue forth with their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with streaks of vermillion, which give them a most horrid appearance. Then they exchange their cloaths with their friends, and dispose of all their finery to the women, who accompany them to a considerable distance to receive those last tokens of friendship.

The great qualities in an Indian war are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a surprize; and indeed in these they are superior to all nations in the world. Accustomed to continual wandering in the forests, having their perceptions sharpened by keen necessity, and living in every respect according to nature, their external senses have a degree of acuteness which at first view appears incredible. They can trace out their enemies, at an immense distance, by the smoke of their fires, which they smell, and by the tracks of their feet on the ground, imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can count and distinguish with the utmost facility. They even distinguish the different nations with whom they are acquainted, and can determine the precise time when they passed, where an European could not distinguish footsteps at all. These circumstances, however, are of small importance, because their enemies are no less acquainted with them. When they get out, therefore, they take care to avoid making use of any thing by which they might run the danger of discovery. They light no fire to warm themselves, or to prepare their victuals; they
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lye close to the ground all day, and travel only in the night; and marching along in files, he that closes the rear, diligently covers with leaves the tracks of his own feet, and also of theirs who preceded him. When they halt to refresh themselves, scouts are sent to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy may lye concealed. In this manner they enter unawares the villages of their foes, and while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, massacre all the children, women, and helpless old men, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation. But when the enemy is apprized of their design, and coming on in arms against them, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves, which their faces are painted to resemble. Then they allow a part to pass unmolested, when all at once, with a tremendous shout, rising up from their ambush, they pour a storm of mulquet-bullets on their foes. The party attacked returns the same cry. Every one shelters himself with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give a second fire. Thus does the battle continue until one party is so much weakened, as to be incapable of further resistance: But if the force on each side continues nearly equal, the fierce spirits of the savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer be restrained. They rush upon one another with clubs and hatchets in their hands, magnifying their own courage, and insulting their enemies with the bitterest reproaches. They trample and insult over the dead bodies, tearing the scalp from the head, wallowing in their blood like wild beasts, and sometimes devouring their flesh. The flame rages on till it meets with no resistance, then the prisoners are secured, those unhappy men, whose fate is a thousand times more dreadful than theirs who have died in the field. The conquerors set
up

up a hideous howling to lament the friends they have lost. They approach in a melancholy and severe gloom to their own village, a messenger is sent to announce their arrival, and the women with frightful shrieks come out to mourn their dead brothers, or their husbands. When they are arrived, the chief relates in a low voice to the elders a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition. The orator proclaims aloud this account to the people, and as he mentions the names of those who have fallen, the shrieks of the women are redoubled. The men too join in these cries, according as each is most connected with the deceased, by blood or friendship. The last ceremony is the proclamation of victory; each individual then forgets his private misfortunes, and joins in the triumph of his nation; all tears are wiped from their eyes, and by an unaccountable transition, they pass in a moment from the bitterness of sorrow, to an extravagance of joy. But the treatment of the prisoners, whose fate all this time remains undecided, is what chiefly characterises the savages.

The person who has taken the captive, attends him to the cottage, where according to the distribution made by the elders, he is delivered to supply the loss of a citizen. If those who receive him have their family weakened by war or other accidents, they adopt the captive into the family, of which he becomes a member. But if they have no occasion for him, or the resentment for the loss of their friends be too high to endure the sight of any connected with those who were concerned in it, they sentence him to death. All those who have met with the same severe sentence being collected, the whole nation is assembled at the execution, as for some great solemnity. A scaffold is erected, and the prisoners are tied to the stake, where they commence their death song, and prepare for the ensuing scene of cruelty with the most undaunted courage. Their

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enemies, on the other side, are determined to put it to the proof, by the most refined and exquisite tortures. They begin at the extremity of his body, and gradually approach the more vital parts. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears of the flesh with his teeth; a third thrusts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bowl of a pipe made red hot, which he smokes like tobacco; then they pound his fingers and toes to pieces between two stones; they pull of the flesh from the teeth, and cut circles about his joints, and gashes the fleshy parts of his limbs, which they sear immediately with red hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching them alternately; they pull of his flesh mangled and roasted, bit by bit, devouring it with greediness, and smearing their faces with the blood in an enthusiasm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them, whilst others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs in every way that can increase the torment. This continues often five or six hours, and sometimes such is the strength of the savages, days together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new torments they shall inflict, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who wearied out with such a variety of unheard-of torments, often falls into so profound a sleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awake him and renew his sufferings. He is again fastened to the stake, and again they renew their cruelty; they stick him all over with small matches of wood, that easily take fire, but burn slowly; they continually run sharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thrust out his eyes; and lastly, after having burned his flesh from the bones with slow fires; after having so mangled the body that it is all but one wound; after having mutilated his face in such a manner as to carry nothing human

man in it; after having peeled the skin from his head, and poured a heap of red hot coals, or boiling water, on the naked skull, they once more unbind the wretch, who, blind, and staggering with pain and weakness, assaulted and pelted on every side with clubs and stones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every step, runs hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compassion or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or a dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into something worse than furies, act their parts, and even outdo the men in this scene of horror, while the principle persons of the country sit round the stake smoking and looking on without the least emotion. What is most extraordinary, the sufferer, himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes too, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed during the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest between him and them which shall exceed, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them, with a firmness and constancy almost above human: not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance escapes him; he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments; he recounts his own exploits; he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and though his reproaches exasperate them to a perfect madness and fury, he continues his insults even of their ignorance of the art of tormenting, pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for an Indian

Indian to behave otherwise, as it would be for any European to suffer as an Indian.

When any one of the society dies, he is lamented by the whole; and on this occasion a thousand ceremonies are practised, denoting the most lively sorrow. Of these, the most remarkable, as it discovers both the height and continuance of their grief, is what they call the feast of the dead, or the feast of souls. The day of this ceremony is appointed by public order, and nothing is omitted that it may be celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The neighbouring tribes are invited to be present, and to join in the solemnity. At this time all those who have died since the last solemn occasion, (which is renewed every ten years among some tribes, and every eight among others) are taken out of their graves; those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought for and brought to this great rendezvous of carcases.

They bring their bodies into their cottages, where they prepare a feast in honour of the dead, during which their great actions are celebrated, and all the tender intercourses which took place between them and their friends are piously called to mind. The strangers, who have come sometimes many hundred miles to be present on the occasion, join in the tender condolence; and the women, by frightful shrieks, demonstrate that they are pierced with the sharpest sorrow. Then they are carried from the cabbins for the general reinterment. A great pit is dug in the ground, and thither, at a certain time, each person attended by his family and friends, marches in solemn silence, bearing the dead body of a son, a father, or a brother. When they are all convened, the dead bodies, or the dust of those which were quite corrupted, are deposited in the pit: then their grief breaks out anew. Whatever they possess
most

most valuable is interred with the dead. The strangers are not wanting in their generosity, and confer those presents which they have brought along with them for the purpose. Then all present go down into the pit, and every one takes a little of the earth, which they afterwards preserve with the most religious care. The bodies, ranged in order, are covered with new furze, and over these with bark, on which they throw stones, wood, and earth. Then taking their last farewell, they return each to his own cabin.

Areskouï, or the god of battle is revered as the great god of the Indians. Him they invoke before they go into the field, and according as his disposition is more or less favourable to them, they conclude they will be more or less successful. Some nations worship the sun and moon; among others there are a number of traditions, relative to the creation of the world, and the history of the gods: traditions which resemble the Grecian fables, but which are still more absurd and inconsistent. But except when they have some immediate occasion for the assistance of their gods, they pay them no sort of worship. Like all rude nations, however, they are strongly addicted to superstition. They believe in the existence of a number of good and bad genii or spirits, who interfere in the affairs of mortals, and produce all our happiness or misery. It is from the evil genii in particular, that our diseases proceed; and it is to the good genii we are indebted for a cure. The ministers of the genii are the jugglers, who are also the only physicians among the savages. These jugglers are supposed to be inspired by the good genii, most commonly in their dreams, with the knowledge of future events; they are called into the assistance of the sick, and are supposed to be informed by the genii whether they will get over the disease, and in what way they must be treated. But these spirits are extremely

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simple

simple in their system of physic, and in almost every disease, direct the juggler to the same remedy. The patient is enclosed in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which is a stone red hot; on this they throw water, until he is well soaked with the warm vapour and his own sweat. Then they hurry him from the bagnio, and plunge him suddenly into the next river. This coarse method, which costs many their lives, often performs very extraordinary cures. The jugglers have likewise the use of some specifics of wonderful efficacy; and all the savages are dextrous in curing wounds by the application of herbs. But the power of these remedies is always attributed to the magical ceremonies with which they are administered.

H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
B R I T I S H S E T T L E M E N T S
I N
A M E R I C A, .

C H A P. II.

A concise view of North America and the West-India Islands, from their first discovery, 'till the seeds of the present contest were sown, notifying the commercial strength and shipping of each of the colonies, as they stood in the year 1763.

THE first discovery made by any of our countrymen, was that already mentioned, by Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol; who in 1498 discovered that part of North America now known by the name of Hudson's Bay, and the straits of Davis, from Capt. Hudson and Davis, who sailed afterwards to these places.

Between the years 1607 and 1611, Mr. Hudson made four voyages to this part of the world; in the last of which, his men forced him and eight more of their officers into a boat, and left them to starve in the bottom of the bay.

Sir Thomas Button pursued the discovery in 1612, and Capt. James, in 1631, in hopes of finding a North-West passage to China. Capt. Gilham failed to the bottom of the bay in 1667, and, at his return, his owners procured a patent for planting this country, anno 1670. The English Governor that went thither was Charles Batley, Esq; who built a fort on Rupert river, calling it Charles-Fort, and soon after settled another factory at Nelson. In the year 1684, the chief English factory was at Albany, and a fort erected for its defence.

The

The French invaded our settlements, and took Fort Rupert and Albany in July 1686, though we were then at peace with France. In King William's war, anno 1693, the English recovered their settlements again.

During the war in Queen Anne's reign, the French reduced all our settlements except Albany, but were obliged to restore them at the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713; and the company have remained in possession of them ever since; and by the treaty they were to restore to Great Britain, the Bay and Streights of Hudson, with all the lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers, and places, situated on the same bay and streights, (which comprehend all New Britain and British Canada) and it was agreed, that commissioners, on the part of Great Britain and France, should terminate, within the space of a year, the limits between the dominions of Great Britain and France on that side, which limits the subjects of Great Britain and France were not to pass over to each other by sea or land.

It is not with certainty known what Europeans first visited the country of Canada, the discovery being claimed by both Spaniards and French. However, no permanent settlement was made here till about the beginning of the 17th century; when the French having built some forts, and being frequently supplied with emigrants, they became able to support themselves and extend their views. As their settlements were the first to the Northward of what was then called New England, they gradually spread themselves round the bay of St Lawrence, and along both sides of the river, usurped the country called Nova Scotia, built a town, called Port Royal, in the bay of Fundy, and from thence, about the year 1680, supported the Indians of New England, in their wars with the English; for which they were, in 1690, stripped of their possessions in the bay of Fundy by the people of New England, under the com-

command of Sir William Phipps, their governor; who also twice attempted the reduction of Quebec, but failed by being too late in the season. However, during the wars of King William, the French and Indians gained many advantages over the English, having recovered Port Royal and the other countries they had formerly usurped. In the wars of Queen Anne, Port Royal was again retaken, and called Annapolis; and an expedition was set on foot against Quebec. The fleet from Old England was under admiral Walker, with a body of troops under general Hill, who were to approach the place by the river of St Lawrence, while general Nicholson, with the New England forces, were to attack Montreal, and so divide the French force. This expedition also failed; and the peace of Utrecht following soon after, the French relinquished Nova Scotia, the bay of Fundy, and other places.

Then they applied themselves to extend their settlements about the lakes, and meet those making about the Mississippi; and also built and fortified the town of Louisburg and the island of Cape Breton, which gave them the command of the gulph of St Lawrence, and greatly disturbed the New England trade. This town was taken, in 1745, by the New England men, and restored to the French in 1748. It was finally taken in 1758; and, in the following year, the English army, under General Wolfe, having beat the French under Montcalm, in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where both generals fell, that town, and all its dependencies, fell to the English; and, by the treaty of 1763, was confirmed to them, and the French government thereby annihilated in North America.

Since the above period, we may rank the English possessions in North America, under the heads of the following colonies, viz. Hudson's Bay, Labrador, Newfoundland, Canada, Nova Scotia, New-England, (including Massachussets Bay, Rhode-island,

island, Connecticut, and New-Hampshire, originally one colony, and though now under separate jurisdictions, are still considered as such ;) New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, North-Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida : To these colonies may be added all those islands, which goes under the general name of the West-Indies, viz. Jamaica, Anguilla, Barbuda, St Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St Vincent, Barbadoes, Tobago, and Granada, and the Grenadines, or Grenadillos ; also the Bermudas, or Summer islands ; the Bahama, or Lucayan islands, in the Atlantic ocean. Of these, Dominica, St Vincent, Tobago, and Granada, were ceded by France to Great Britain, by the definitive treaty of 1763.

The chief commodities exported from G. B. to those colonies and West-Indian islands, are wrought iron, steel, copper, pewter, lead, and brass, cordage, hemp, sail-cloth, ship-chandlery, painters colours, millinery, hosiery, haberdashery, gloves, hats, broad-cloths, stuffs, flannels, Colchester bays, long ell silks, gold and silver lace, Manchester goods, British, foreign, and Irish linens, earthen-wares, grind-stones, Birmingham and Sheffield wares, toys, sadlery, cabinet wares, feeds, cheese, strong beer, smoking pipes, snuffs, wines, spirits, and drugs, East-India goods, books, paper, leather, besides many other articles, according to the different wants and exigencies of the different colonies, impossible to be enumerated here. In return we receive tobacco, rice, flour, biscuit, wheat, beans, peas, oats, Indian-corn, and other grain ; honey, apples, cyder, and onions ; salt-beef, pork, hams, bacon, venison, tongues, figs, and raisins, prodigious quantities of cod, mackarel, and other fish, and fish-oil ; furs and skins of wild beasts, such as bear, beaver, otter, furr, deer, and racoon, horses, and live stock ; timber planks, masts, boards, staves, shingles, pitch, tar and turpentine ; ships
built

built for sale, flax, flax-seed, and cotton; indigo, pot-ash, bees-wax, tallow, copper-ore, and iron in bars and in pigs; besides many other commodities peculiar to the climes and soils of the different provinces and isles. As to those, which have been acquired by the last general peace, they are certainly very improveable, nor can we form any judgment of them, in their present infantine unsettled state. As we propose making the war now subsisting between the colonies and us, the subject of the second part of this work, it is considered at present sufficient to exhibit a state of the trade of America, as it existed when the differences first took place, marking at the same time the commercial strength and shipping of the colonies.

<i>Colonies.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Seamen.</i>	<i>Exports from G. Britain.</i>	<i>Exp. from the Colonies.</i>
Hudson's Bay	4	130	£. 16,000	£. 29,340
Labrador,				
American ves-				49,050
sels 120				
Newfoundland	380	20,560	273,400	345,000
(3000 boats)				
Canada	34	400	105,000	105,500
Nova-Scotia	6	72	26,500	38,000
New-England	46	552	395,000	370,500
Rhode Island,				
Connecticut,	3	36	12,000	114,500
and New				
Hampshire				
New-York	30	330	531,000	526,000
Pensylvania	35	390	611,000	705,500
Virginia and	330	3,960	865,000	1,040,000
Maryland				
North Carolina	34	408	18,000	68,350
South Carolina	140	1,680	365,000	395,666
Georgia	24	240	49,000	74,200
East Florida	2	24	7,000	
West ditto	10	120	97,000	63,000

1,078 28,910 3,730,900 3,924,606

REVOLUTIONS
AND
MEMORABLE EVENTS.

CHAP. III.

A short narrative of the memorable events and revolutions of the British colonies in North America, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the present time, enumerating their different charters and grants, and shewing when executed, to whom, and for what purpose.

WHEN the Europeans first visited New-England, they found it inhabited by twenty different nations or tribes independent of each other, and commanded by their respective chiefs. Of these nations, the most powerful was the Massachussets, situated on or near Boston harbour.—The North-East part of the continent of America was first discovered by Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol. In the year 1497, he discovered all the coast, from Cape Florida, in 25 degrees of North latitude, to 67 and an half; from whence England claimed a right to Virginia, prior to the Spaniards, or any other European power.

Grants to
Sir Wal-
ter Ra-
leigh and
others.

Queen Elizabeth having equipped several squadrons, under the command of those celebrated commanders Drake, Hawkins, and Raleigh, to cruize upon the Spanish coasts and islands in America, they brought home such favourable accounts of the riches and fertility of Florida, that a great many enterprizing gentlemen appeared very zealous of making settlements in that part of the world, and chose Mr. Raleigh, afterwards Sir Walter, to conduct the enterprize, who obtained a patent or grant

grant from Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1584, of all such lands as he should discover in North-America, between 33 and 40 degrees of North latitude, and to dispose of them in fee-simple, or otherwise, to any of the subjects of England, reserving to the crown a fifth part of all the gold and silver ore that should be acquired in such countries, paying the said fifth part to the crown in lieu of all services.

Whereupon Mr. Raleigh formed a society among his friends, who contributed large sums, and provided two ships to go upon the discovery, the command having been given to Capt. Philip Amidas and Capt. Arthur Barlow, who set sail from England on the 20th of April 1584, and arrived at the island of Wokoken, on the coast of Carolina, in 34 degrees odd minutes, North latitude. They visited another island a little to the Northward, called Roanoak; and some of the officers went over to the neighbouring continent, where they were hospitably entertained by Wingina, the king of that part of the country; however, they returned to the island of Wokoken before night, where they bartered some utensils of brass and pewter, axes, hatchets, and knives, with the natives, for skins and furs; and, having disposed of all their goods, and loaded their ships with skins, sassafras, and cedar, and procured some pearls and tobacco, they parted with the natives in a very friendly manner, returning to England with two Indians, who desired to come along with them. The tobacco brought home by these adventurers, being the first that was ever seen in England, was then extolled as a most valuable plant, and a remedy for almost every disease. /

These two ships having made a profitable voyage, and it being reported that the country was immensely rich, Mr. Raleigh and his friends fitted out a fleet of seven ships more, giving the command of it to Sir Rich. Grenville, who set sail from Plymouth

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the 9th of April 1585, and arrived at the island of Wokoken the 26th of June following, where the admiral's ship was cast away going into the harbour; but he and all the crew were saved. The Admiral afterwards conducted the adventurers to the island of Roanoak, from whence he went over to the continent, and took a view of the country: but one of the natives stealing a silver cup, he took a severe revenge, burnt and plundered an Indian town, with all the corn growing in the fields, and leaving 108 men on the island of Roanoak, under the command of Mr. Ralph Lane, directed him to make further discoveries, and then set sail for England, promising to return with such reinforcements as should enable him to subdue the neighbouring continent: but Mr. Lane marching to the West, found the country destroyed before him as he advanced; and it was with great difficulty that he made his retreat to Roanoak again. And here the colony was in great danger of starving, if Admiral Drake had not taken them up as he was returning from a cruize, and brought them to England.

Sir Walter sent over several other little embarkations; but, neglecting to support them, all of them perished.

James I.
1606.

No farther attempts were made to fix the colonies either in Carolina or Virginia, until the beginning of the reign of James I. who, by his letters patent, dated the 10th of April 1606, authorized Sir Tho. Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and other adventurers, to plant the coast of Virginia, between 34 and 45 degrees of North latitude; who thereupon fitted out three small ships, giving the command of them to Capt. Christopher Newport, who set sail from the Downs on the 5th of January, 1606-7, and, on the 26th of April, 1607, arrived in the bay of Chesapeake; and sailing up the river
Pow-

Powhatan, now James river, they landed on a peninsula about fifty miles up the river, where they built a fort, and afterwards a town, which they called James-town, in honour of King James I. from whom they received their patent. This was the first town built by the English on the continent of America.

There happened some skirmishes between the English and the natives at their landing; but the Indians, apprehending they should not be able to maintain their ground against a people furnished with fire-arms, pretended to be reconciled, waiting however for an opportunity of falling upon these strangers, when they should meet with an advantage. The fort being finished, Capt. Newport, on the 22d of June, 1607, returned to England, leaving 104 men in the new settlement.

The garrison, soon finding themselves in want of provisions, and the natives refusing to furnish them with any, though they offered to give the full value for them, the English found themselves under a necessity of plundering the country; upon which an open war commenced between them and the natives; however, fresh supplies and reinforcements coming over, commanded by Lord Delawar, the Indians were glad to enter into a treaty of peace, during which the English, finding a great demand for tobacco in Europe, began to encourage the planting of it, in which they succeeded beyond their expectations; and at the same time Sir G. Yardley, the governor, established a government resembling that of England, and the first general assembly or parliament met at James-town, in May, 1620; and negroes were first imported into Virginia the same year.

About the year 1619, some dissenters of the independent persuasion, who were uneasy at their being required to conform to church of England, having purchased the Plymouth patent, and obtained another

The Plymouth patent purchased by Dissenters; a colony erected, from 1621.

from King James to send colonies to North Virginia, now New-England, embarked 150 men on board a ship, which sailed from Plymouth the 6th of September 1620, and arrived at Cape-Cod in New-England on the 9th of November following, where they built a town, and called it by the name of New Plymouth; and Mr. John Carver was elected their governor.

This company enters into an alliance with several Indian nations.

The Indians were, at this time, too much engaged in wars among themselves, to give these strangers any disturbance; and Massasoit, prince of the Massachusset nation, learning from one Quanto, an Indian who had been carried to England, what a powerful people the English were, made governor Carver a visit the following spring, and entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the English, by whose assistance he hoped to make a conquest of the Narraganset nation, with which he was then at war. This prince also consented to acknowledge the King of England his sovereign, and made a cession of part of his country to the new planters. Several other Sachems, or Princes, also followed the example of Massasoit, and desired the protection of the English against their enemies, professing themselves subjects of king James.

Differences on religion, weakens and divides this colony.

Ships arriving every day almost with planters and provisions, the colony soon became well established; when differences arose among the planters, upon account of religion. The dependants, who were the most numerous, not allowing a toleration to any other sect or persuasion, several of the adventurers removed to other parts of the country, and others returned home, whereby the colony was so weakened, that, if the Indians had not been engaged in a civil war, the English would infallibly been driven out of the country.

In the mean time, another set of adventurers,
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anno 1627, purchased a grant of the Plymouth company, of all that part of New-England, which lies between the river Merimac and Charles river; and to strengthen their title to this country, procured a grant of it from King Charles, anno 1628, and nominated Mr. Craddock their first governor.

The Quakers plant other colonies.

Another set of adventurers planted New Hampshire, and others Providence and Rhode-Island, the last being chiefly quakers, driven out of Massachusetts colony by the Independents, who had long persecuted them, and actually hanged some of the quakers for not conforming to their sect.

Thus all the New-England provinces were planted and well-peopled within the space of twenty years, reckoning from the arrivial of the first colony at New Plymouth, during which time they were very little interrupted by the Indians; but the English colony of Connecticut beginning to erect fortresses, and extend their settlements to the westward, without the leave of the natives, the Indians were alarmed, apprehending they should in time be dispossessed of their country, and be enslaved by these foreigners.

The Sachem Metacoment therefore (to whom the English gave the name of Philip) the son of Massasoit, who first entered into an alliance with the English, observing the danger his country was in, and the English now no longer acted as allies, but tyrannized over his people, and had in a manner deprived him of his authority, dispatched messengers privately through all the tribes of the Indians, inviting them to take up arms in defence of their country, which they did, and succeeded in several engagements at first, but their prince Philip being killed by a musket-shot, the English at length prevailed. Great numbers of the Indians were massacred, and others driven out of their country, and joined the French in Canada, who promised them aid and protection.

The Indians are alarmed at the encroachments of their new allies.

Force

Force now proving ineffectual, and looking upon themselves as a conquered people, the Indians entered into a conspiracy to massacre all the English. on the 22d of March, 1622, about noon, when the English were abroad at work on their plantations, without arms; and they actually murdered 347 of the English, most of them being killed by their own working tools: but an Indian, who had been well used by his master, disclosing the design to him a little before this execution, he gave notice to the rest of the planters, who stood upon their defence, and not only saved their own lives, but cut off great numbers of the Indians.

The planters, not long after, falling out among themselves, the Indians took an advantage of their divisions, and made another attempt to recover their country, killing great numbers of the English by surprise.

The
company
of Virgi-
nia dis-
solved.

These misfortunes being ascribed to the mal-administration of the company, King Charles I. dissolved them in the year 1626, and reduced the government of Virginia under his own immediate direction, appointing the government and council himself, ordering all patents and processes to issue in the king's name, reserving a quit-rent of two shillings for every hundred acres of land. The planters, however, falling into factions and parties again, the Indians made a third effort to recover their lost liberties, and cut off near 500 more of the English; but they were at length repulsed, and their king Oppaconcanough taken prisoner, and killed by a private soldier, very much against the will of Sir William Berkley, the then governor, who designed to have brought him over into England, being a man of extraordinary stature, and uncommon parts.

The act
of navi-
gation.

Sir William afterwards made peace with the Indians, which continued a considerable time; but the
civil

civil war commencing in England, he was removed from his government during the usurpation, when an ordinance of parliament was made, prohibiting the plantations to receive or export any goods but in English ships; which gave birth to the act of navigation in the reign of King Charles II, who reinstated Sir William Berkley in his government at the restoration

Sir William promoted the manufactures of silk and linen in this plantation, and was esteemed an excellent governor; but the act of navigation restraining the planters from sending their merchandize to foreign countries, and from receiving cloathing, furniture, or supplies from any nation but England, creating a deal of discontent, Mr. Bacon, a popular factious gentlemen, took the advantage of their disaffection, and, setting up for himself, drew the people into rebellion, deposed the governor, and compelled him to fly to the Eastern shore of the bay of Chesepeak; and, had not Bacon died in good time, he had probably made himself Sovereign of Virginia; but, upon his death, Sir William returned to his government, and the people to their duty.

The province of New-York, which was sold to the Dutch, about the year 1608, by a private contract with Captain Hudson, its discoverer, was by the Dutch called Nova Belgia. They cleared some parts, built some towns about the mouths of the rivers, and formed some settlements within land; and, about the year 1637, had spread themselves to the Northward of what is now called Jersey, and encroached on the lands which had been settled for some years by a colony of Swedes, who had built the towns of Christiana, Elsingburg, and Gottenburg. But as this coast had been first discovered by Cabot, for King Henry VII. it was reclaimed by King Charles II.; who in the year 1664, sent a force which took possession of it for the duke of

New-York becomes a royal government.

of York, to whom it had been granted by the king, his brother; and therefore the country was called New York. The part possessed by the Swedes was granted by the Duke of York to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, whose families being of the isle of Jersey; they called it New Jersey; one having the East part, and the other the West part. Such of the Swedes and Dutch as chose to stay, and become subjects to England, and tenants to the proprietors, were permitted to enjoy the fruits of their labour; and the Dutch who departed had the liberty of retiring to Surinam, which country the English had ceded to the Dutch by way of exchange. On the Duke of York's accession to the throne, New York fell to the crown, and became a royal government. And in 1702 the proprietors of the Jerseys surrendering the country to the queen, it became also a royal government.

The duke of York afterwards parcelled out these countries to under-proprietors, among whom William Penn, son of Sir William Penn, admiral in the Dutch wars, was one.

All the rest of the under-proprietors, some time after, surrendered their charters to the crown, whereby New York and the Jerseys became royal governments; but Penn retained that part of the country which had been granted to him, and king Charles II. made him another grant, in 1680, of the rest of that country, which now constitutes the rest of Pennsylvania, in consideration of a debt due to his father, the admiral, from the government. Penn, the son, afterwards united the countries he possessed by both grants, into one, giving them the name of Pennsylvania, and began to plant them in the year 1681. The Dutch and Swedish inhabitants chusing still to reside in this country, as they did in New-York and the Jerseys, they and their descendants enjoy the same privileges as the rest of his
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Majesty's subjects in these plantations do, and are now in a manner the same people with the English, speaking their language, and governed by their laws and customs.

Mr. Penn, however, notwithstanding the grants made him by the crown and the duke of York, did not esteem himself the real proprietor of the lands granted him, until he had given the Indians valuable considerations (or what they esteemed such) for their country: he therefore assembled their Sachems or Princes, and purchased countries of a very large extent of them, for a very moderate price, as they made scarce any other use of their country than hunt in it. He paid them for it in clothes, tools, and utensils, to the entire satisfaction of the natives, who still retained more lands than they could possibly use, being very few in number.

Maryland was discovered in the year 1606, when Virginia was first planted, and, for some time, was esteemed a part of Virginia, until Charles I. in the year 1632, granted all that part of Virginia, which lay North of Patowmac river, and was not then planted, to the right honourable Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore of the kingdom of Ireland, and to his heirs; which was afterwards named Maryland, in honour of the then consort Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of the French king Henry IV. The Lord Baltimore sent over his brother, the hon: Leonard Calvert, Esq; with several Roman Catholic gentlemen, and other adventurers, to the number of 200, who arrived in the bay of Chesepeak in the year 1633, and planted the first colony near the mouth of Patowmac river, and advancing to the Indian town of Yoamaco, they were permitted to reside in one part of the town, in consideration of some presents they made to the Weroance, or prince of the country, who left them in possession of the whole town as soon as this people had got in their

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harvest;

harvest; whereupon Mr. Calvert gave the town the name of St. Mary's: but what principally induced the Weroance to be so exceedingly civil to the English was his being at war with the Susquehannah Indians, and expecting to be protected by the English against that potent enemy, who had very near driven him out of his country. And such was the good understanding between the Yoamaco Indians and this colony, that, while the English were planting the country, the Indians hunted for them in the woods, and brought them in great quantities of venison and wild fowl; and many Roman Catholic families coming over from England to avoid the penal laws, this soon became a flourishing colony, of which the Calverts remained governors until the civil wars in England, when the family were deprived of the government of this province, but recovered it again on the restoration of King Charles II. And the Hon. Charles Calvert, son of the Lord Baltimore, remained governor of that Colony near 20 years, who promoted the planting of tobacco here, till the colony became almost as considerable for that branch of business as Virginia; and the family still remain proprietors of this plantation, being one of the most considerable estates enjoyed by any subject of Great Britain abroad.

Carolina.

Carolina was the last country in America planted by the English, after Sir Walter Raleigh's unfortunate attempts to fix colonies in Carolina, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This country seems to have been entirely overlooked till the restoration of King Charles II. The then ministry, being informed that Carolina would produce wine, oil, and silk, and almost every thing that Britain wanted, procured a patent or grant from King Charles to themselves, dated the 24th of March 1663, of great part of this coast; the grantees being Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor; George Duke of Albemarle, the general; William Lord

Lord Craven, John Lord Berkley, the Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Colleton, and their heirs. These proprietors, however, did little towards planting it, until the year 1670, when Lord Ashley struck out a whimsical kind of government for the colony, creating a Palatine or Sovereign, with a council to be a check upon him; which involved them in perpetual quarrels, and almost destroyed the plantation as soon as it was settled; to prevent which, they were at length obliged to sell their shares to the crown; and it is now a royal government, only Earl Granville thought fit to retain his seventh share, which his family still remains in possession of.

The Carolinas being frequently invaded and harassed by the French and Spanish Indians, the English found it necessary to extend their plantations farther South, and added that province denominated Georgia, contiguous to the Carolinas; and trustees were appointed to fortify that frontier against the incursions of the Indians, who accordingly built towns, and erected forts on or near the banks of the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, in order to cover these provinces against any hostile attempts on that side, for here only they were liable to be attacked. As to the rest, the Apalachian mountains cover the two Carolinas from any invasion from the West.

Gen. Oglethorpe commanded the first embarkation for Georgia, to whom the Creek nation voluntarily relinquished their right to all the country South of the river Savannah, the Northern limits of this new province of Georgia; and articles of commerce were settled between the English and Creeks. There were some attempts made the last war to add the Spanish port of St. Augustine to the province of Georgia; and had not Gen. Oglethorpe been betrayed, he had probably reduced that fortress; but not being able to confide in his people, he found it necessary to retire from thence; and the Spaniards

not long after returned the visit, and invaded Georgia, which was so well defended by Mr. Oglethorpe, that the Spaniards were beaten off.

The Spaniards possessed themselves of Florida immediately after their conquest of Mexico, under which name they comprehended all those countries which lye North of the gulph of Mexico, of which Carolina and the rest of the British plantations are part; but, the Spaniards abandoning part of this country for richer settlements in Mexico and Peru, the English planted most of the Eastern coast, now stiled British America, the Spaniards retaining only St. Augustin, and two or three other small places East of the river Mississippi, and what lyes West of that river; and thus the country situated between the English plantations on the East, and the Spanish territories in the West, remained under the dominion of the Florida Indians, until the year 1718, when the French took possession of the river Mississippi, and erected some forts, by virtue whereof they laid claim to the greatest part of Florida, incroaching on the Spanish territories on the West, and the English dominions on the East. They did, indeed, once before erect some forts on the Spanish side of the river Mississippi; but the Spaniards demolished them, and drove the French out of the country; but since France and Spain have been so closely united, the Spaniards seem to wink at their incroachments; but the English who have ever looked upon this country, as far West as the river Mississippi, to belong to the colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia, or at least to their Indian allies the Creeks or Cherokees, thought they had very good reason to dispute this part of Florida with the French, these Indians have ceded to the English all this country they do not chuse themselves; and it must be admitted that the natives only can give the Europeans a just title to it. On this claim, Great Britain, in 1754, disputed her right with France, from which contest proceeded the late French war.

THE
HISTORY
Of the ORIGIN, RISE, and PROGRESS of the
CIVIL WAR
IN
AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

*A View of the Question in dispute, relative to the Colonies ;
with the origin of the present, unhappy civil contest.*

THE fortunate termination of the last war, 1763.
which not only restored tranquillity to our
American empire, but seemed to establish it on a
more solid foundation than formerly, revived in the
minds of the colonists the idea of independency :
and certain impolitic measures at home conspired to
hurry into execution a system, which might otherwise
have remained for years in contemplation ; and at
length, perhaps, have proved no more than an
amusing theory.

A Change had taken place in the British ministry. Change
The Earl of Bute, against whom the public odium in the
had risen to an incredible height, had resigned ; and British
the honourable George Grenville, who had long ministry.
presided at the Board of Trade, was placed at the
head of the treasury. He brought his contracted
mercantile ideas along with him. By means of
commercial regulations alone, and these chiefly di-
rected against smuggling, he hoped to supply the exi-
gencies of the state. Agreeable to this idea, the
sovereignty of the Isle of Man was purchased by the
crown,

1764.



crown, and armed vessels were stationed all around the coasts of Britain; so that no ship could pass either out from or into any port without a strict examination. This policy, more detrimental to trade than emolumentary to the revenue extended even to America and the West Indies, where it was productive of the most pernicious consequences.

Men of
war sta-
tioned to
prevent
smug-
gling.

A lucrative trade had long been carried on between our islands in the West Indies and the Spanish main. In order to enjoy the advantages of this trade, which was entirely in favour of England, and which Spain had taken every method to obstruct, the inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbadoes had often run the greatest hazards; and the English men of war in those latitudes had frequently protected them from the Guarda Costas, at the risk of a national quarrel. But now these men of war, having received a general order to prevent smuggling of every kind, or in the ministerial phrase, to "crush the monster," made prize even of the Spanish vessels, when they came within a certain latitude, with their gold, silver, cochineal, and other valuable commodities, which they meant to exchange for British manufactures; and, as if the Guarda Costas had no longer been sufficient, a like severity was used towards such English ships as attempted to visit the Spanish settlements. The distress occasioned by this absurd regulation, so contrary to the spirit of British policy, was soon felt over all our West India islands. A total stagnation of trade was the consequence, and gold and silver entirely disappeared*.

Nor did our North American Colonies feel less severely the effects of the same regulation. They had early carried on a beneficial trade with the French

* The precious metals have ever since been scarce in our West India islands; for although an act was passed in 1766, declaring Jamaica and Dominica free ports, the Spanish trade has never been fully recovered.

French islands in the West Indies. Thither they conveyed wood for building, corn, cattle, and provisions of all kinds; and brought back, in return, indigo, cotton, sugar, and molasses. Part of these they consumed themselves, and part they sent to the mother-country, in exchange for her various manufactures; and though there is reason to believe that they sometimes received French manufactures immediately for their produce, the trade was attended with so many advantages to our Northern colonies, especially after France was deprived of Canada, that it ought never to have been obstructed, though it should perhaps have been put under certain restrictions, as contributing in too great a degree to the prosperity of a rival power, as well as to enhance the necessaries of life in our West India islands, beyond what is consistent with the general interest of the empire. 1764.

These considerations were partly overlooked by the British ministry, on the one hand, and by the inhabitants of North America, on the other. The latter would admit of no restraint upon a trade, which they affirmed not only essential to the clearing of their lands, and the prosperity of their fishery, but also to enable them to purchase the manufactures of the mother-country. The minister, like all wrongheaded men, was obstinate in his purpose: in his rage to augment the revenue of the customs, he lost sight of every other circumstance. The naval officers employed to execute the orders of government, partly from ignorance, partly from rapacity, were guilty of many acts of violence and injustice. Our North American colonies were neither in a disposition tamely to suffer such injustice, nor in a situation that made submission necessary. They were undisputed masters of an immense continent, without a single enemy to molest them; their population was great, and increasing with amazing rapidity; they were possessed of vast internal resources, and
needed

Americans will not admit of any restraint on their trade.

1764.



needed only perhaps an entire freedom of trade to be the greatest people upon earth. They were ambitious of possessing that freedom, and had already formed the scheme of their enfranchisement. Their conduct was consistent with their temper and condition: they immediately came to a resolution to import no manufactures from Great Britain, except such as it was impossible for them to do without.

Resolu-
tion not
to import
British
manufac-
tures.

This resolution has been represented, by certain politicians, as the most moderate that could have been adopted in such circumstances: and so it appears at first view; but on a more close examination, it will be found to involve almost every thing that the colonies have since claimed and the mother-country denied. If they did not import their manufactures from Great Britain, they must either themselves fabricate them, or receive them from some other European power: and in both these instances, as we have already seen, they were restrained by acts of the British legislature, whose validity they had never called in question; they therefore claimed independency. Whether the minister perceived this or not may be questioned; but certain it is, that he perceived the inefficacy of his commercial regulations to answer the purposes of government. He did not, however, abandon his mercantile system. An open trade was permitted between our American settlements, and those of other nations; but the most important branches of it were loaded with such duties as were thought equal to a prohibition. Those duties were ordered to be paid into the British exchequer, and in specie too, at the same time that a bill was passed for regulating the quantity of paper-money in the colonies.

It is impossible to express the discontent which these two acts produced, both in the colonies and the mother-country. The ministry were now, it was said, proceeding from violent acts of despotism,

to

to those of confirmed tyranny and deliberate oppression. Could there be a more arbitrary or absurd ordinance, than to require the Americans to pay in specie, of which they were entirely destitute, and which they had now no means left of acquiring, taxes in themselves too grievous to be borne?—In vain was it urged, that too great a quantity of circulating paper has a tendency to banish the precious metals, which always disappear where they are not necessary; that they would return on its being circumscribed, and that fair trade and useful industry, instead of being hurt by such a regulation, would be promoted, and idle speculation and romantic projects only discouraged; that the taxes complained of were no greater than what sound policy requires, in order to give a preference to the commodities of the English West India Islands above those of other nations; and that they would all be returned, together with an additional sum in specie, for the payment of the British troops in America. These troops were a new cause of terror, and the conquests which had occasioned their establishment, were execrated. The jealous republicans of New England, already beheld in idea their own money employed to pay a band of rapacious mercenaries, hired to keep them in slavish subjection to the mother-country. They were filled with indignation at the thought; and instead of attending to several acts passed for the encouragement of their trade*, which were at least a balance for those of a contrary tendency, they not only determined to abide by their former resolution of non-importation, but to encourage to the utmost of their power all

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kind

* Namely, “a Bill for granting Leave for a limited Time for carrying Rice from the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia to other Parts of America, on paying British Duties; a Bill for granting a Bounty upon the Importation of Hemp and Flax from her American Colonies into Great Britain; and a Bill for encouraging the Whale-fishery in the American Seas.

1764. kinds of manufactures within themselves, without paying any regard to the laws of Great Britain in that respect.

To this second resolution, which soon became general, the colonists were partly incited by a vote of the House of Commons, passed at the same time with the act imposing those duties which gave so much offence; "that, towards further defraying the necessary expences of protecting the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp-duties upon them." Nothing could be more imprudent than this vote; which seems to have been dictated by the same timid policy that, under the name of lenity, has been so disgraceful to the arms, and prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, in the present dispute with her colonies. It was meant as a prelude to the famous STAMP ACT, and was carried with little or no opposition. Had the act itself been proposed at the same time, it would have passed with equal ease, and the opposition in the colonies would, in all probability, have been very inconsiderable.

Stamp
act postponed,
that the
colonies
might offer a compensation
by any
other tax.

But that measure was postponed till next session of parliament, in order that the colonies might have time, as was pretended, "to offer a compensation for the revenue which a stamp-duty might yield;" and the minister actually shewed his willingness, when the colony agents waited upon him to offer their thanks for this mark of his consideration, "to receive proposals for any other tax that might be equivalent in its produce to the one under contemplation." There is reason however to believe, that the true purpose of the vote was to gather the sense of the colonies with regard to an internal taxation: and that was as unfavourable as the boldest leader of faction, either in England or America, could have wished it. Had the parliament firmly exerted their legislative authority over the colonies,
which

which had never seriously been called in question since the revolution, by giving to the purposed bill at once the force of a law, the colonists would not have felt in its actual operation those evils suggested by an enthusiastic fancy, discoloured by false report; nor would ambitious men have had leisure to propagate, by working on the fears and the discontents of the people, those infectious principles of natural liberty and original equality, so flattering to human nature, but inconsistent with all government, and which all popular leaders have thought it necessary to employ, till they were invested, like Washington, with the supreme command, or like Cromwell, found themselves sufficiently powerful to tell their equals they were slaves.

1764.

In consequence of this procrastination, and those licentious principles which it allowed to spring up, the colonists not only took the solemn resolution, already mentioned, to manufacture for themselves, without deigning to take any notice of the restrictive laws already in force, but sent over petitions to be presented to the king, lords and commons, positively, and directly calling in question the authority and jurisdiction of the British parliament over them. The minority in both Houses caught the language, which was re-echoed by their adherents without doors; and when the bill for laying a stamp-duty on the colonies was read, a warm debate ensued, in which not only the expediency of that or any other internal tax was called in question, but also the right of the British legislature to tax the colonies without their concurrence.

Conse-
quence of
postpon-
ing the
stamp act.

The question of right we shall afterwards have occasion to discuss, when it came formally before the great council of the nation, and the propriety of the particular tax will naturally fall under our examination, in speaking of the repeal of the stamp-act: it will therefore be sufficient here to consider a
question

1764.  question intimately connected with both, the ability of the colonies to bear internal taxes; from which the expediency of imposing them, will in some measure appear. The common advantages which every empire derives from the provinces subject to its dominion, it was observed by the friends of administration, consists in the military force which they furnish for its defence, and in the revenue that they yield for the support of its civil government. But the English colonies have never yet contributed any thing towards the defence of the mother-country, or towards the support of its civil government: on the contrary, they themselves have been hitherto defended almost entirely at the expence of the parent-state. The expence of their own civil government has always been very moderate*: it has generally been confined to what was necessary for paying competent salaries to the governor, to the judges, and to some other officers of police, and for maintaining a few of the most useful public works. Their ecclesiastical government is conducted upon a plan equally frugal: tithes are unknown among them; and their clergy, by no means numerous, are maintained either by moderate stipends, or by the voluntary contributions of the people. The most important part of the expence of government, that of protection, has constantly indeed fallen upon the mother-country: and if she is to receive no compensation for past favours, it is at least but reasonable, that the colonies should henceforth raise such a proportion of revenue, as will for the future free

* The expence of the civil establishment of Massachusetts Bay, before the commencement of the present disturbances, used to be but about eighteen thousand pounds a year; that of New Hampshire and Rhode island, three thousand five hundred each; that of Connecticut four thousand; that of New York and Pennsylvania, four thousand five hundred each; that of New Jersey, one thousand two hundred; that of Virginia and South Carolina, eight thousand each:—in a word, all the different civil establishments in North America, did not then much exceed seventy thousand pound sterling annually.

free her from this burden; especially as the colonists, who are subject neither to the tythe nor poor's rate, must be infinitely more able to bear revenue-taxes, than the inhabitants of Great Britain, who groan beneath those two grievous and oppressive loads.

1764.


It was answered by the gentlemen in opposition, That, however appearances might be in their favour, most of the provinces in North America were excessively poor; that they were upwards of four millions in debt to the merchants of Great Britain, who being creditors to such an amount, were in reality the proprietors of a great part of what the Americans seemed to possess; that the suppression of manufactures in that country, and obliging the colonists to take every sort which they use from Great Britain, comprises all kinds of taxes in one, and makes them in reality the supporters of a great part of our public burdens. But if actual taxes were even necessary, there was no possibility of paying them; the interior commerce of the colonies being entirely carried on by a paper currency, and the gold and silver which occasionally came among them, all sent to Great Britain: we could not draw from them what they had not; we had already got all their specie: they had neither gold nor silver left; and without gold and silver taxes could not be paid.

The scarcity of gold and silver money in America, it was, or might have been replied*, is not the effect of the poverty of that country, or of the inability of the people there to purchase those metals. In a country where the wages of labour are considerably higher, and the price of provisions much lower

* The author has not confined himself merely to the arguments offered in either house of Parliament: he has also included those employed by the best political writers on both sides, as well as such as occurred to himself.

1764.

lower than in England, the greater part of the people must have the means of purchasing a greater quantity, if it were either necessary or convenient for them so to do: the scarcity of those metals must therefore be the effect of choice, not of necessity. It is convenient for the Americans, who could always employ with profit in the improvement of their lands a greater stock than they can get, to save as much as possible the expence of so costly an instrument of commerce as gold and silver, and rather to employ that part of their surplus produce which would be requisite for purchasing those metals, in purchasing the instruments of trade, the materials of cloathing, several articles of household furniture, and the iron-work necessary for building, and for extending their settlements and plantations; in purchasing not dead stock, but active and productive stock.

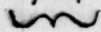
As it suits the conveniency of the planters to save the expence of employing gold and silver money in their domestic transactions, it also suits the conveniency of the colony governments to supply them with their paper-money; a medium which, though attended with some very considerable disadvantages, enables them to save that expence. The redundancy of paper-money has a farther tendency to banish the precious metals, which are never seen where they are not necessary: wherever a cheaper instrument of commerce can be found, in the colonies, they disappear. In those branches of business, however, which cannot be transacted without gold and silver money, it appears that the Americans can always find the necessary quantity; and if they frequently do not find it, their failure is generally the effect, not of their necessary poverty, but of their bold and projecting spirit, of their unnecessary and extravagant passion for enterprize. It is not because they are poor, that their payments are slow, irregular, and uncertain; but because they are too eager to become excessively rich.

The same reasoning is equally applicable to the revenue intended to be raised in America. Though all that part of the produce of the colony taxes, which should exceed what was necessary for defraying the expence of their own civil and military establishments, were to be remitted to Great Britain in gold and silver, the colonies have sufficient means to purchase the requisite quantity of those metals. They would in this case be obliged, indeed, to exchange a part of their surplus produce, with which they now purchase active and productive stock, for dead stock. In transacting their domestic business, they would be obliged to employ a costly instead of a cheap instrument of commerce; and the expence of purchasing this costly instrument might damp somewhat the vivacity and ardour of their immoderate spirit of enterprize of the improvement of land. It might not however be necessary, if it should be found utterly inconvenient, to remit any part of the American revenue in gold and silver: it might be remitted in bills drawn upon, and accepted by particular merchants or companies in Great Britain, to whom a part of the surplus produce of America had been consigned, and who would pay into the treasury of the American revenue in money, after having themselves received the value of it in goods. Thus the whole business of the revenue might be transacted without exporting a single ounce of gold or silver from America.

Recommended by these, or similar reasonings, Stamp the bill for imposing a stamp duty, on the colonies, act passed and intended as a prelude to a general internal taxation, made its way through both houses of parliament; and, according to form, received the royal assent. Intelligence of this measure no sooner reached America, where the news of the vote of the House of Commons, relative to its propriety, had already excited universal alarm, than the deepest melancholy took possession of every countenance; and

1764.
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1764.



and that melancholy was, in some places, sublimed into fury: This was particularly the case at Boston in New England, where unfortunately the disagreeable tidings first arrived. The example of passiveness, or even moderation in one province, might have had some effect to induce the rest to submit; but neither moderation nor submission were to be expected from the wild fanatics of Massachusetts Bay. Their dissatisfaction discovered itself in a manner entirely suited to their character: in a mixture of affected sorrow and insolent contempt of sovereign authority. The ships in the harbour hung out their colours half-mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled; the act itself was printed, with a death's head to it, in the place where it is usual to fix the king's arms, and cried publicly about the streets, by the name of the "FOLLY of ENGLAND, and the RUIN of AMERICA." Essays soon followed, not only against the expediency, but the equity of the tax, in several newspapers, one of which wore, by way of head-piece, the following significant emblem, truly expressive of the purpose of the leading men in the colonies; a snake cut in pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the several provinces, from New England to South Carolina inclusively, affixed to each piece, and above them the words "JOIN or DIE!"

Stamp  
act burnt  
and treat-  
ed with  
great  
contempt  
by the co-  
lonies.

Nor was the dissatisfaction of the colonies, to give it no worse name, confined to these symbolical and literary insults on the authority of the mother-country. The Stamp-Act, printed in his majesty's name, no sooner reached America, than it was treated by the populace with all that contempt and indignation, which could be expressed by order of the civil power against a scandalous libel. It was publicly burnt in several places, along with the effigies of those who were supposed to have had any hand in promoting it. The masters of ships who had stamps on board, were obliged, in order to save their vessels from



from fire, and their persons from the gibbet, to surrender their execrated cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, to be treated in the same ignominious manner with the act itself, unless some man of war happened to be at hand to protect them. Even then the danger was not over. Those gentlemen who went from England, as distributors of the stamps, fared still worse. Some of them were obliged, on pain of death, to take an oath, that they would never more be concerned in such employment; others for obstinately persisting, as it was termed, to enslave the colonies, had their houses burnt to the ground, and their most valuable effects plundered or destroyed. Governors and chief Justices, who had been named for this purpose, without their own solicitation or knowledge, were treated in the same manner: nay, ship-masters bringing stamped mercantile or custom-house papers, merely in their own defence, from such of the colonies as had thought proper to submit to the act, were forced to resign them, to be struck up in derision in taverns and coffee-houses, and afterwards publicly committed to the flames.

Many of the better sort of people gradually mingled with the populace, in these tumults; and one of them was not afraid to set the authority of Great Britain openly at defiance, by advertising in the public papers, that the persons whose business it was to enforce the execution of the Stamp Act, might save themselves the trouble of calling upon him for that purpose, as he was determined to pay no taxes except such as were levied by his representatives. Even the provincial assemblies not only declined giving the governors any advice concerning their behaviour in this critical emergency, but refused to strengthen the hands of the executive power so as to prevent future commotions; to condemn the rioters to any corporal punishment, or to decree any compensation to the injured parties. These

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assem-

1764. assemblies, encouraged by associations of the freeholders, went yet farther: instead of barely conniving at the tumultuous proceedings of the people, in asserting their independency by acts of violence and injustice, they proceeded to avow it themselves in the most express terms; and considering the great diversity of governments, as well as of opinions both civil and religious, a wonderful harmony appeared in the sentiments of the assemblies of the several provinces.

The merchants agree not to import any goods from Great Britain after the 1st of Jan, 1766.

The merchants of those colonies that ventured openly to oppose the Stamp Act, also entered into the most solemn engagements with each other, to order no more goods from Great Britain, let the consequences be what they would, nor even to dispose of any British goods sent them by commission, unless shipped before the first of January 1766. In the meantime they imported from Ireland, and no doubt from foreign states, such goods as they could not do without. Nor did they omit any means to free themselves even from this dependence. A Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, on the plan of the London society, was instituted at New York, and markets opened for the sake of home-made goods. By these it soon appeared, that the manufacturers whom the colonists had, for some time past, been inviting from Europe, by tempting encouragements, had not been idle; and that the scheme of independency\*, in what regards internal industry was far advanced, and must soon have shewn itself, at least by a diminution in the demand for our manufactures, though no internal tax had been proposed, and by a contempt of our restraints

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\* Though the author of this work has no doubt of the authenticity of *Montcalm's Letters*, in which the views of the colonists towards independent sovereignty itself are fully established, he has founded none of his reasonings upon them, that he may not be said to build upon a false, or even on a suspicious authority.

on their internal commerce. Linens, woollens, the coarser but most useful kinds of iron-ware, malt spirits, paper-hangings, and a variety of other articles, were produced before the society with great approbation; and when brought to market, they were bought up with equal greediness, though much inferior to those of the mother-country. A resolution was at the same time entered into by the northern colonies, to eat no lamb, that their new woollen manufactures might not fall short of materials, by the destruction of the young of their flocks. In a word, a spirit of industry and frugality universally took place of that of idleness and profusion. Even the women, whose weakness was most to be feared, were forward in setting an example to the men, by renouncing whatever Britain had formerly furnished them with, either for elegance or conveniency.

1768.  


Such was the opposition made against the Stamp Act, and the steps taken in consequence of it, by the eight most ancient English colonies in North America; namely, New England, New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. The other colonies quietly submitted to the authority of the British parliament, as did all the West India islands, except those of St. Christopher and Nevis, where a riot ensued on the first arrival of the stamped paper.

While these transactions were going forward in the colonies, a change had been made in the British ministry. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Grenville, who had found it necessary to resign; and the Duke of Grafton and General Conway were appointed secretaries of state. The minister was an advocate for the legislative authority of Great Britain over her colonies, in all cases whatsoever, but he disapproved of the Stamp Act; though only perhaps

Change  
of the  
ministry.



1765. perhaps because it was the measure of his predecessor, and because he hoped to render himself popular by getting it repealed. It must be owned, however, that he acted with no less prudence than moderation with respect to the proceedings in America. The firmness as well as temper, which appeared in his dispatches to the different governors, do him honour; though inclined to lenity, and even averse from the measure which had made rigour necessary, he did not sacrifice the dignity of the nation by irresolution or weakness. In consequence of this mild conduct, a door was still left open for reconciliation, when the matter should come finally before the supreme legislature of the empire, as the colonists were not urged to commit such acts as could not be forgiven.

January  
1766.

That important crisis, for which all parties were prepared, at length arrived.

Debates  
on the  
repeal of  
the stamp  
act.

Never was any affair debated in a British parliament, in which the nation thought itself more deeply interested, or on which all Europe hung with more impatient anxiety, than the right of taxing the colonies, and the measures necessary to be pursued relative to their late proceedings. Numberless pamphlets were written on both sides of the question; and, in general, both parties were guilty of the same fault, though in the most opposite extremes. The advocates for the colonies, as on every succeeding occasion, carried the idea of liberty to the highest pitch of enthusiasm\*, while their antagonists seemed

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\* "In general," says Dr. Price, "to be *free* is to be guided by one's own will; and to be guided by the will of another is the characteristic of *servitude*. Hence he concludes, "that no one community can have any power over the *property* or *legislation* of another community, which is not incorporated with it by a *just and adequate representation*;" because "a country that is subject to the legislature of another country, in which it has no voice, and over which it has no controul, cannot be said to be *governed*"

seemed to think that a person forfeited every privilege of an Englishman by going to live in America. They both proved a great deal too much. The former, by considering the colonies rather as independent states, in a sort of equal alliance with the mother-country, than as provinces under her dominion, or plantations reared by her fostering care, and immediately belonging to her, furnished the strongest reasons why they should be made more sensible of their dependence, by a timely check being given to that daring spirit of licentiousness, which had insolently set at defiance the imperial autho-

1766.

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*verned by its own will, and therefore is in a state of slavery."* Such is the substance of Dr. Price's famous "OBSERVATIONS on CIVIL LIBERTY," which are destructive of all *civil authority*; of all subordination among men or estates. Who can doubt that every servant would wish to be a master, or at least to have no controul upon his actions, except that of the magistrate, (for then only can he be said to be guided by his own will, even in indifferent matters) and that every state would wish to be independent and sovereign?—But men are born with such unequal powers and capacities, that, even in a state of nature, some very early acquire an ascendancy over others; and men of inferior abilities very readily acknowledge the authority, and submit to the controul of those who are able to yield them protection, and to afford them, in a state of submission, such advantages as they were unable to have procured for themselves, in a state of perfect freedom. In like manner, certain states, in different ages of the world, have voluntarily put themselves under the government of other states, that they might enjoy the benefit of protection, and other advantages connected with it; an authority over many has been acquired by conquest; and a controul over some has arisen from, or been created by colonization. But however such dominion may have been obtained, it has always been understood, that when any one state had submitted to the authority of another, by permitting the controul of its laws, and more especially, when it had received protection from the sovereign or imperial state, that it had no right of breaking free from that sovereignty or empire. Nor has a state in such a condition any right to representation, even though it should obtain in the sovereign or parent-state: it is bound to submit itself to the wisdom and equity of the state whose laws it has acknowledged, or boldly to rebel against such state, and claim natural independency by the sword.

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authority of Great Britain. On the other hand, the advocates for the supremacy of the legislature, by exaggerating the power, opulence, and population of the colonies, sufficiently proved the necessity of treating them with tenderness; for if such calculations were allowed to be well founded, it must be impossible to retain the colonies long in subjection by any other means.

The reasonings within doors were nearly of the same complexion as those without. The speech from the throne pointed out the American affairs to parliament, as the principal object of its deliberation: the addresses of both houses shewed that they considered them in the same important light; and the petitions received from the principal trading and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, complaining of the great decay of commerce, contributed still farther to rouse the attention, and call forth the faculties of the members, on this grand occasion. They consisted of three parties: those who were resolved to support the Stamp Act at all events, as a regular and necessary exertion of authority; those who contended for its repeal, as inexpedient, among whom were the ministry, but who insisted that the legislature of Great Britain has an undoubted right to tax her colonies; and those, among whom were lord Camden and Mr. Pitt, who absolutely denied the right of taxation, and who, though a smaller body, stood high in the esteem of the public. In the course of the debates, which were long and warm beyond example, the subject naturally divided itself into two questions, or objects of inquiry, on the result of which the whole depended; namely, "the right of taxation, and the expediency of the late tax."

The noblemen and gentlemen, who opposed the right of taxation, produced many learned arguments to prove, that taxation and representation are inseparable,



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rable, according to the principles of the British constitution, the fundamental maxim of which is, that “no man shall be taxed but by himself or his representative;” that the charters of the colonies, (which are derived from prerogative, and are in fact only so many grants from the crown) are not the only rights the colonists have to be represented before they are taxed; that as British subjects, they take up their rights and liberties from an higher origin, from Magna Charta, the same origin whence they flow to all Englishmen; that the charters of the colonies, like all other crown grants, are to be interpreted for the benefit, not to the prejudice of the subject; that had the first colonists renounced all connection with the parent state, they might have renounced their original right, but as they migrated under the authority of the crown, and with the national sanction they consequently carried along with them all the privileges of Englishmen: that they were not, however, bound by the penal laws of this country, from the severity of which they had fled, to climates more remote from the heavy hands of power; and that being once removed from the domestic legislation of the mother-country, they are no more dependent upon it in the general system, than the inhabitants of many separate principalities in Europe, during the feudal policy, were on the jurisdiction of their superior, or lord paramount. But these arguments, it was observed at the same time, were not meant to affect any external duties laid upon the ports of the colonies, or any restrictions which, by the Act of Navigation, or other acts, are laid upon their trade; those it was allowed, the mother-country, according to the practice of all European nations, had a right to impose, but not internal taxes, to be levied on the body of the people, before the people were represented.

Arguments of no less weight were employed by the advocates for the supremacy of the legislature.

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It was necessary, they observed, to clear away from a question of constitutional law, such as the present, all that mass of dissertation and learning displayed by speculative men on the subject of government; that no conclusion relative to the colonies of Great Britain, could be drawn from reasonings concerning those of antiquity \*, except what were in favour of the right of taxation; that the colonies of the Greeks and Tyrians were mere emigrations, in order to disburden the parent state of its superfluous subjects, and who were allowed to perish, or struggle into existence, as they were able, being understood to have no political connexion with her; that the colonies, or plantations of the Romans, established in the conquered provinces, though partly of a military nature, had more resemblance to ours †; but, like ours, though they had the power of enacting laws for their own government, were at all times subject to the correction, jurisdiction, and legislative authority of the mother country; that, on the other hand, nothing could be more unlike our colonies, than principalities in a feudal dependency, or those myriads that poured from the northern hive over the rest of Europe. The first were not colonies, therefore no arguments could be deduced from them relative to the present question; the latter, a set of plunderers, renounced all laws, all connection with or protection from their respective mother-countries, they chose leaders, and marched out under their command, to ravage the Roman empire, and establish new kingdoms on its ruins; whereas our colonists, actuated by very different motives, emigrated under the sanction of the crown and parliament.

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\* These reasonings, on the other side, were omitted to avoid the languor of repetition.

† The Greek word ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ signifies a separation of dwelling a departure from home, a going out of the house; whereas the Latin word *Colonia*, imports simply a *plantation*, the original name given to our colonies.

Here they met their antagonists on their own ground, and proceeded to observe, that the British colonies were gradually modelled into their present forms of government, respectively by charters, grants, and statutes, but were never separated from the mother-country, or so far emancipated as to become their own legislators; that they were originally (as we have had frequent occasion to notice) under the authority of the privy-council, and had agents residing here responsible for their proceedings; and that the commonwealth parliament, as soon as it was settled, passed a resolution or act, in order to declare and establish the legislative authority of England over her colonies. But though there were no express law, or reason founded on any necessary inference from such law, yet the usage alone would be sufficient to support that authority. Have not the colonies, ever since their first establishment, submitted to the jurisdiction of the mother-country? —In all questions of property, the colonies have appealed to the privy-council; and such causes have been determined, not by the law of the colonies, but by the law of England. The colonies have also been frequently obliged to recur to the jurisdiction here, to settle the disputes between their own governments. Connecticut and New Hampshire have been in blood about their differences, and the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland in arms against each other: hence is evident the necessity of one superior and absolute jurisdiction, to which all inferior jurisdictions may have recourse. Nothing could be more fatal to the peace of the colonies, than for the parliament to relinquish its jurisdiction over them, and to leave them entirely to their own will: for in such case, there would be an entire dissolution of all government. Considering how the colonies are composed, it is easy to foresee, that there would be no end of their feuds and factions, when once there should be no controul over them, nor any superior tribunal to decide their mutual differ-

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It was further observed, that the constitutions of the colonies are various, having been produced, as all governments were originally, by accident and circumstances ; that the forms of government were adapted to the size of the several colonies, and have been extended from time to time, as the number of their inhabitants and their commercial connections outgrew the first model ; that, in some colonies there was only at first a governor assisted by a council of five or six members ; then more were added ; next courts of justice were erected ; and afterwards, assemblies were established. Some things were done by instructions from the secretaries of state ; others by the order of the king and council, and not a few by commission under the great seal. In consequence of these successive establishments, and the dependence of the colony governments on the supreme legislature at home, the lenity of each government in America has been very great towards the subject ; but if all these governments, which are now independent of each other, should also become independent of the mother-country, the inhabitants would soon find, to their sad experience, how little they were aware of the consequences : they would, in that event, feel the hand of power much heavier upon them in their own governments, than they had yet felt, or even feared from the parent-state.

As the constitutions of the several colonies are so variously constructed as to preclude the hope of their ever being moulded into one uniform government, so every thing proclaims the necessity of their submitting without reserve to the jurisdiction of the mother-country, or of being totally dismembered from

from her. The provincial assemblies cannot be supposed to be proper judges of what is necessary for the defence and support of the whole empire. The care of that defence and support is not intrusted to them: it is not their business, and they have no regular means of information concerning it. The assembly of a province, like the vestry of a parish, may judge very properly concerning the affairs of its own particular district, but can have no proper means of judging concerning those of the whole political body: it cannot even judge properly concerning the proportion which its own province bears to the whole empire, or concerning the relative degree of its wealth and importance, compared with the other provinces; because those other provinces are not under the inspection and superintendency of the assembly of a particular province. What is necessary for the defence and support of the whole empire, and in what proportion each part ought to contribute, it was therefore affirmed, can be judged of only by that assembly which inspects and superintends the affairs of the whole empire; that no one ever thought to the contrary, till the trumpet of sedition was lately blown; that acts of parliament have been made, not only without doubt of a legality, but with universal applause, the great object of which has been ultimately to confine the trade of the colonies, so as to make it centre in the bosom of that country whence they derive their origin; that the Navigation Acts shut up their commerce with foreign countries; that their ports have been made subject to customs and regulations, which circumscribed their commerce, and that restrictions have been put, and duties imposed affecting the inmost parts of their trade and industry; yet all these have been submitted to peaceably, nor did any one ever object till now, or even insinuate, that our colonies are not to be taxed, regulated, and bound by the resolutions of the British parliament.

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Formerly indeed, as at present, a few individual merchants were displeased at restrictions which did not permit them to make the greatest advantage possible of their commerce, in their own private and peculiar branches. But though these merchants might think themselves injured, in having their profits on certain articles circumscribed, as being contrary to the general national system, as prejudicial to the interest of the whole empire, yet in the issue the colonies were benefited by such laws; because these restrictive laws, founded on the general policy not only of Britain but of Europe, with respect to trade and plantations, flung a great weight of naval force into the hands of the parent state, which was to protect the colonies, in themselves unequal to their own defence, and enabled her to perform the office of a guardian with honour and dignity, with equal advantage to herself and to them. In proportion as the mother-country advanced in superiority over the rest of the maritime powers of Europe, the colonies, who had contributed to it, became relatively and subordinately great, according to the natural and just relation in which they reciprocally stand, that of dependence on one side and protection on the other.

The distinction between internal and external taxes, it was urged, is alike false and frivolous. It is granted, that restrictions upon trade, and duties upon the ports are legal, at the same time that the right of the parliament of Great Britain to lay internal taxes upon the colonies is denied. What real difference can there be in this distinction?—A tax laid on the commodity of a country in any place, is like a pebble falling into and making a circle in a lake, till one circle produces and gives motion to another, and the whole circumference is agitated from the centre; for nothing can be more clear, than that a tax of ten or twenty per cent. laid upon tobacco in the ports of Virginia, or even in those of Britain,



Britain, as long as it is confined to the market of the mother-country, is a duty laid upon the inland plantations of Virginia an hundred miles from the sea, or wherever the tobacco grows. 1766.

As to the argument of representation, there can be no doubt but the inhabitants of the colonies are as much represented in parliament as the greatest part of the people of this island, among seven millions of whom six have no votes in electing members of parliament: every objection therefore, on the part of the colonies, against the right of taxation, that may be supposed to arise on the ground of non representation, is equally applicable to the inhabitants of the mother-country. A member of parliament chosen for any particular borough, represents not only the constituents and inhabitants of that particular place; he represents the inhabitants of every borough in Great Britain: he represents all the commons in the British empire, the inhabitants of all its colonies and acquisitions, and is in duty and conscience bound to take care of their interests. A more equitable representation however, (in which the colonies ought to be immediately included) it is allowed both might and may take place; but, in the mean time, the obligation between the colonies and the mother-country is natural and reciprocal, consisting of defence on the one side, and obedience on the other. Common sense indicates, that they must be entirely under the authority of the parent-state, otherwise not belong to it at all: for if any of the countries of an empire, neither acknowledge the supremacy of the legislature, nor contribute towards the support of the whole empire, they cannot be considered as provinces; and therefore ought to be thrown aside as incumbrances, whenever the empire can no longer support the expence of such splendid trappings.

That part of the question relative to the constitution

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tion is no less simple and self-evident. If a matter of right has been generally exercised, and as generally held to be law, as in the present instance, it becomes the constitution. The right of England to tax her colonies has not been questioned at least since the Revolution; an event to which several of those colonies owe their present charters, and consequently their present constitution, and to which all our American colonies owe the liberty, security, and property, which they have ever since enjoyed. But not satisfied with these blessings, under the equitable controul of the parent-state, they have dared to spurn her authority; and by their late audacious proceedings, particularly in appointing deputies from their several assemblies to confer together, have absolutely forfeited their charters, unless Great Britain shall behold their offences with the indulgent eye of a mother.

A bill  
passed for  
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Such were the principal arguments made use of in the celebrated debates relative to the legislative authority of Great Britain over her colonies; which, on the question being put, was confirmed and ascertained without a division. In consequence of this resolution, a bill was brought in and passed, "for the better securing the dependence of his Majesty's dominions in America on the crown of Great Britain." The bill itself declares, "That the colonies have been, are, and of right ought to be subordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; and that the king and parliament of Great Britain had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force to bind the colonies and his Majesty's subjects in them, IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER." It also further specifies, "That whereas several of the houses of representatives in his Majesty's colonies in America have of late, against the law, claimed to themselves, or to the general assemblies of the same, the sole  
and

and exclusive right of imposing duties and taxes on his Majesty's subjects in the said colonies, and have passed certain votes, resolutions, and orders, derogatory to the authority of parliament, and inconsistent with the dependency of the said colonies upon the crown of Great Britain, all such resolutions, votes, orders, and proceedings are declared to be utterly null and void to all intents and purposes."

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At the same time with this bill, surprising as such a measure may appear, was brought in another for the total repeal of the Stamp Act. The ministry satisfied with having ascertained and secured, upon paper, the legislative authority of Great Britain over her colonies, seemed resolved to relinquish it in reality; or at least they were determined to render themselves popular, by annulling that obnoxious statute. In this resolution they were encouraged, and supported by the popular party among the minority; who, as appeared in the issue, wanted only to betray them, by leading them into such a measure as would deprive them of the confidence of the court. In vain was it urged by the true friends of the king and constitution, that a concession of this nature, on the part of the supreme legislature, while such an outrageous resistance continued in the colonies, carried with it so palpable an appearance of weakness and timidity of government, as must for the future lessen the authority of Great Britain, and make it appear even contemptible. The honour and dignity of the nation was thought sufficiently provided for by the bill declaring the dependency of the colonies. General reasonings were no more successful. In vain was it advanced, that the power of taxation is one of the most essential branches of all authority; that it cannot be equitably or impartially exercised, if it is not extended to all the members of the state, in proportion to their respective abilities: but if a part is suffered to be exempt from  
a due

Repeal of  
the stamp  
act.



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a due share in those burdens, which the public exigencies require to be imposed upon the whole, a partiality so directly repugnant to the trust reposed by the people in every legislature, must be absolutely destructive of that confidence on which all government ought to be founded.

The great distance of our colonies, it was answered, and the difficulty of making ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the minute circumstances of every colony, render us liable to great mistakes, and consequently to the hazard of great oppression, whenever we attempt to levy internal taxes in America; that our true policy is to acquiesce in the great commercial advantages we derive from our colonies, rather than to attempt to raise a revenue in them; which by disabling the people to make returns to our merchants, will put them under the necessity of setting up manufactures of their own. That, it was replied, they had already done: therefore, unless we could engage them to share with us in the common burdens of the empire, we would soon find, to our melancholy experience, that we had entailed upon ourselves the wasteful expence of protecting them, without any adequate advantage; as our exclusive trade must daily decrease, in consequence of the new order of things that had taken place in North America.

These arguments had no weight with the ministry. The repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act \*, it was said,

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\* The objections against the act itself were few and inconsiderable, consisting chiefly in the obstruction it might be supposed to produce in business, and the occasions it would afford of oppression, through the ignorance of the Americans of the numerous cases in which they were liable to penalties. The first of these objections is of some force, but is equally strong against a stamp duty every where, and the obstruction it pleads is amply compensated by that order which it introduces into the

said, would restore every thing to its former footing. The Stamp Act was accordingly repealed, to the great joy of the mercantile and manufacturing part of the kingdom; and a bill of indemnity was passed, in favour of those who had opposed its operation.

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the transactions of men :—and this furnishes an answer to the second objection ; for if the ignorance of the Americans of the various cases in which they were liable to the penalties denounced in the Stamp Act had at first subjected them to a few fines, the superior regularity introduced into business would have prevented law-suits, so frequent in the colonies, as well as have rendered property more secure. In a word, a moderate stamp-duty is perhaps the least felt of any general tax that can be devised ; and that imposed upon the colonies was by no means exorbitant. It was not the tax, but taxation that was the grievance.

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## C H A P. II.

*The Progress of the Dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies continued, from the Repeal of the Stamp Act, in 1766, to the passing of the Boston Port Bill 1774.*

**N**O ministry perhaps ever conducted a popular measure with so little advantage, or even reputation to themselves, as those under the Marquis of Rockingham the repeal of the Stamp Act. The people, struck with the glaring inconsistency of a law for ascertaining the right of imposing internal taxes upon the colonies, and one for removing the only internal tax that had been imposed, without any other being substituted in its stead, could not conceive both to be the work of the same men: they ascribed the latter, and with some appearance of reason, to the bold and animated speech of Mr. Pitt, in the House of Commons, and one no less forcible by Lord Camden, in the House of Peers\*. The court, though not entirely of the same opinion, considered the ministry as a set of weak men, labouring under the influence of popular clamour, or seduced by the thirst of popular applause, and therefore unworthy of its confidence: it accordingly threw them aside, in the hour of their disappointment; and their places were filled by those who had misled them, and on whom the beams of public as well as royal favour shone. Lord Camden was raised to the head of the law, in the room of the Earl of Northington; the Duke of Grafton to the head of the treasury, in the room of the Marquis of Rockingham; and the new-made Earl of Chatham, supposed to be the ostensible minister, and political guardian to the Duke

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\* What contributed particularly to favour this opinion was, that these two celebrated speeches were not so much levelled against the Stamp Act, as against the right of the parliament to tax the colonies, which had just been established by the Declaratory Bill.



Duke of Grafton, was appointed lord privy-seal. 1766.  
At the same time, the Earl of Shelburne was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the Duke of Richmond. General Conway retained his place, as the other secretary.

Both the old and new ministry were much disappointed in the effect of their lenient measures upon the refractory colonists. That factious and turbulent spirit which had taken possession of their minds, was by no means mollified by the repeal of the Stamp Act. They had obtained a triumph, and were resolved to enjoy it. Not content with private outrages, too often repeated, and marks of disrespect to government, no less frequently shewn in New England and the neighbouring provinces, the assembly of New York, in direct opposition to an act passed by the Rockingham administration for providing the troops with necessaries in their quarters, took the liberty of regulating the provisions of the army according to a mode of their own, without any regard to that prescribed by parliament. This affair, 1767.  
being brought before the House of Commons next session, occasioned warm debates, and rigorous measures were by some proposed. Happily, however, the general opinion was, rather to bring the colonists to temper, and a sense of their duty by acts of moderation, which should at the same time sufficiently support the dignity of the legislature, than by severe measures to inflame still farther that spirit of discontent which was already too prevalent among them. According to these principles a bill was passed, by which the governor, council, and assembly of New York, were prohibited from passing or assenting to any act of assembly, for any purpose whatever, till they had complied with all the terms of the act of parliament.

This restriction, though confined to one colony, was intended as a lesson for the whole; and that they

1767. they might no longer consider the repeal of the Stamp Act as a relinquishing of the legislative authority of Great Britain over them, a bill was also passed, during the same session, for laying certain duties on tea, paper, painters colours, and glass, imported into the British colonies and plantations in America. Such a measure, though by no means inconsistent with the political principles either of the late or present ministry, as they had maintained the power of imposing *port-duties*, at the same time that they denied the right of *internal taxation*, afforded nevertheless to the Grenville administration and their associates, in its consequences, great cause of recrimination. It demonstrated to the world the views of the Americans, and the fallacy of some late pretensions to patriotism. No better disposed to pay these duties than the stamp-duties, which had been so industriously represented, both at home and abroad, as unjust and oppressive, the colonists took the most vigorous and effectual steps for defeating the purpose of the new laws; though planned by men whom they had lately adored as their deliverers, and whom every tongue had applauded as the champions of liberty and the constitution.

Oct. 27.

Boston, the capital of Massachusetts Bay, was in this, as well as the former instance, the place where the opposition to the authority of the British legislature first discovered itself. At a general meeting of the inhabitants, summoned on the occasion, several resolutions were entered into for the encouragement of manufactures, the promoting of industry and œconomy, and the lessening and restraining the use of foreign superfluities. These resolutions, every one of which was highly prejudicial to the commerce of the mother-country, contained a long list of enumerated articles, which it was determined either not to use at all, or in the smallest quantities possible. At the same time a subscription was opened, and a committee appointed, for the encouragement of  
their

their own growing manufactures, and the establishment of new ones. Among these, it was resolved particularly to promote the making of paper and glass, as being liable to the payment of the new port-duties : it was also resolved to restrain the expence of funerals ; to reduce dress to a degree of primitive simplicity ; and in general, not to purchase from the mother-country any commodity that could be procured in any of the colonies.

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These resolutions were either adopted, or similar ones entered into by all the old colonies on the continent ; and a circular letter was sent soon after, by the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, to all the other assemblies in North America. The purport of that letter was, to shew the pernicious tendency of the late act of parliament ; to represent it as unconstitutional ; and to propose a common bond of union between the colonies, in order to prevent the effect of the statute, as well as to promote harmony in their applications to government for a repeal of it. Nor were their natural rights as men, or their constitutional ones as Englishmen forgot ; all of which, it was pretended, were infringed by the imposition of the new port-duties.

Feb. 11,  
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Unfortunately during this ill humour of the people of Massachusetts Bay, they were dissatisfied with Mr. Bernard, their governor. He had been thwarted in every measure for some years past by the assembly ; and both parties seemed more attentive to the gratification of private and personal animosity, than zealous for the public good. Proud no doubt of an occasion of triumph, the governor ordered to be read to the assembly, according to its intention, a letter from the Earl of Shelburne, one of the principal secretaries of state, containing very severe animadversions on that body. The rage of the members instantly vented itself in the most indecent expressions, first against the ministry, and afterwards  
against



1768. against the governor. The charges made in it must have been founded, it was said, on misrepresentations of facts in his dispatches to the secretary. A committee was accordingly appointed to wait on him, in order to desire a copy of Lord Shelburne's letter, as well as of those which he had written himself, relative to the assembly, and to which the charges in that must refer. These copies being refused, the assembly wrote a letter to the secretary of state, in which great pains were taken to vindicate their own conduct at the expence of the governor, and to ascribe to his misrepresentations the disadvantageous opinion entertained of them in the cabinet. They also wrote letters to the lords of the treasury, and most of the great officers of state; in which, along with great professions of loyalty, they not only remonstrated strongly against the operation of the late act of parliament, but insinuated that the imposition of the port-duties was contrary to the constitution, and totally subversive of their rights and liberties.

Seeing no hope of being able to mollify the refractory spirit, so predominant in the assembly of his province, governor Bernard adjourned it. The speech which he delivered on the occasion contained many severe strictures on the conduct of the members, particularly in regard to Lord Shelburne's letter; and he complained greatly of some turbulent and ambitious men, who under false pretences of patriotism, had acquired too great an influence, as well in the assembly as among the people—who sacrificed the welfare of their country to the gratification of their lawless passions, and to the support of an importance which could have no existence but in times of trouble and confusion.

During these distractions in America, and in consequence of them, a new office was created at home; a secretary of state was appropriated to the department of the colonies only. Much was expected from

from this arrangement; and Lord Hillsborough, who appeared first in that office, wrote a circular letter to the governors of all the provinces, to which had been directed the circular letter from the assembly at Boston. In this letter, his majesty's disapprobation of that measure was expressed in the strongest terms; it was declared, that he considered it as of the most dangerous and factious tendency; calculated to inflame the minds of the people; to promote an unwarrantable combination; to excite an open opposition to, and denial of authority of parliament, and to subvert the true principles of the constitution; that his Majesty therefore expected from the known affection of the respective assemblies, that they would defeat this flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace, and treat it with the contempt it deserved, by consigning it to neglect.

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At the same time another letter to Governor Bernard was written, in which the exceptions to the circular letter are repeated. It is there said to have been a measure adopted in a thin house at the end of a session; and in which the assembly departed from that prudence and respect for the constitution, which seemed to have influenced a majority of its members in a full house, at the beginning of the session: whence his Majesty could not but consider it as a very unfair proceeding, and to have been carried by surprise through the house of representatives. A requisition was therefore made, in his Majesty's name, That the new assembly would rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter, and declare their disapprobation of so rash and hasty a proceeding. Never was a more desirable opportunity afforded to any body of men for correcting the intemperance of popular zeal; and in order to mollify the temper, and dispose the minds of the obstinate bigots of Massachusetts Bay to compliance, it was added, That, as his Majesty had the fullest reliance on their affections, (a declaration which

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which it is not impossible might be considered as a reproach) he had the better ground to hope, that the attempts made by a desperate faction to disturb the public tranquillity would be discountenanced, and the measure recommended embraced, without any difficulty.

These parts of the letter were laid, by the governor, before the new assembly, with a message in which he earnestly requested their obedience to the royal pleasure ; but observed at the same time, that in case of a contrary conduct, he had received his majesty's instructions how to act, and must do his duty. This produced a message, in return from the assembly, desiring a copy of the instructions to which he alluded, as well as of some letters and papers which he had laid before the council. A copy of the remainder of Lord Hillsborough's letter, in which the instructions were contained, was accordingly sent to the assembly. By these the governor was directed, in case of their refusal to comply with his majesty's reasonable expectation, to dissolve them immediately, and transmit a copy of their proceedings on that occasion, to be laid before the parliament.

No answer having been given to the royal request, after the assembly had been in possession of all these papers for above a week, the governor sent a message to urge them to it. In answer, they applied for a recess, that they might have an opportunity to consult their constituents on the occasion. This being denied them, the question was put for rescinding the resolution of the last house ; and passed in the negative, by a majority of seventy-five out of an hundred and nine members. A letter was next resolved on to Lord Hillsborough, and an answer to the messages from the governor. In both these pieces great pains are taken to justify the conduct of the last assembly, as well as of the present, and the charges of surprise and of a thin house, (which were



were probably suggested to them as apologies for their undutiful conduct) are absolutely denied. They attempted to justify the circular letter, on the inherent right of the subjects to petition the King, either jointly or severally for the redress of grievances; and in the letter to the secretary of state, they made various comments, with great freedom, on the nature of the royal requisition, alledging that it was unconstitutional, and without a precedent, to command a free assembly on pain of its existence, to rescind any resolution, much less that of a former house. They complained greatly of the base and wicked misrepresentations that must have been made to his Majesty, to induce him to consider a measure perfectly legal and constitutional, and which only tended to lay the grievances of his subjects before the throne, as of an "inflammatory nature, tending to create unwarrantable combinations, and to excite an opposition to the authority of parliament," the terms in which it is described in Lord Hillsborough's letter; and they concluded with professions of the greatest loyalty, and the strongest remonstrances against the late port-duties. They were also preparing a petition to the King for the removal of their governor, against whom they laid a number of charges; but before the last hand could be put to it, the assembly was dissolved.

The circular letters which the American secretary had written to the other colonies, were attended with as little efficacy as that which had been sent to Boston. The different assemblies wrote answers to that of Massachusetts Bay, expressing the highest approbation of their conduct, and a firm resolution to coincide in their measures. Some of them also returned addresses to the secretary of state, in which they not only justified the steps taken by the assembly at Boston, but animadverted with great freedom on several passages, as well as on the requisitions contained in his letter. At the same

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time

1768.

1768. time most of them entered into resolutions, not to import or purchase any English goods, except what were already ordered for the ensuing fall, and such articles of necessity as they could not do without, until the late laws should be repealed.

Seizure  
made of  
a sloop  
by the  
board of  
customs.

Before the dissolution of the assembly a great tumult had happened at Boston, in consequence of a seizure made by the board of customs, of a sloop belonging to one of the principal merchants of that town. This sloop, it appears, was discharged of a cargo of wine, and in part reloaded with a quantity of oil, under pretence of converting her into a store, but without any proper attention being paid to the custom-house regulations. On the seizure, the revenue officers made a signal to the Romney man of war; and her boats being manned and armed, conveyed the sloop under the protection of that ship. The populace, who had assembled in crowds on the occasion, being unable to recover the vessel, vented their rage on the commissioners of the customs; pelted them with stones, broke one of their swords, and treated them in every respect with the greatest outrage and indignity. Not satisfied with insulting and abusing their persons, they attacked their houses; broke their windows, destroyed their furniture, and hauled the collector's barge to the common, where it was burned to ashes.

Officers  
of the  
customs  
get into  
Castle  
William.

As soon as this tumult began to subside, the officers of the customs judged it necessary for the security of their lives, in case of any new ferment, to retire on board the man of war; whence they removed to Castle William, a fortification, as we have already had occasion to notice, on a small island at the mouth of the harbour. There they resumed the functions of their office. Meantime frequent town meetings were held, and a remonstrance was presented to the governor, in which the rights that they claimed were asserted in direct opposition to the British legislature.

gislature. An extraordinary requisition was also made; namely, that the governor would "issue an order for the departure of his Majesty's ship, the Romney, out of the harbour." In a word, the temper and conduct of the people became every day more licentious, till it exceeded all the lines of duty and allegiance, even has traced on the extensive scale of liberty. Nor is the cause of such licentiousness inexplicable.

1768.

That republican spirit, so often mentioned, to which the colony of Massachusetts Bay owed its foundation, and those fanatical and levelling principles in which the greater part of the inhabitants had been nursed, being now awakened by measures which the body of the people regarded as totally subversive of their rights, and irritated by the arts of factious and designing men, who had much influence among them, they were alike incapable of prescribing due limits to their passions, and of preserving a proper decency in the manner in which they expressed them. Their public writers as well as speakers were highly extravagant in their epithets; and a certain stile and mode of composition was introduced, which seems peculiar to themselves, and which has never been equalled in absurdity since the days of Oliver Cromwell, when serious and comic subjects were confounded, and reason at war with sense. In some of these publications, while they appeared to forget, on one hand, their dependence as colonies, and to assume the tone of distinct and original states, they eagerly claimed, on the other, all the benefits of the British constitution, and the native rights of Englishmen, without reflecting that it was their dependence upon England alone, which could entitle them to any share of those rights and benefits. A ludicrous phraseology became fashionable in all matters relative to government, or even to the supreme legislature; an attempt was made to degrade, by some light expression, every thing respectable in

Republi-  
can spirit  
breaks  
out in the  
colony o  
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Bay.

the



1768. the jurisdiction of the mother-country ; but in what concerned themselves, when their provincial assemblies came to be mentioned, the language was changed : they were no longer known by that humble name ; they were on every occasion honoured with the title of PARLIAMENTS.

A report that their petition to the King was not delivered.

A report that their petition to the king had not been delivered by the secretary of state, contributed greatly to augment the ferment among the people of Massachusetts Bay. It was said that the petition had been rejected at London, under pretence that the colony agent was not properly authorised to deliver it, as he had been appointed by the assembly without the consent of the governor. The dissolution of the general assembly increased the disorder, which was still farther heightened by the seizure of the sloop, and a circumstance connected with it : it was the property of one of the representatives for the town of Boston !

Two regiments ordered from Ireland.

While things were in this unhappy situation, two regiments were ordered from Ireland to support the civil government in Massachusetts Bay ; and several detachments, from different parts of North America, rendezvoused at Halifax for the same purpose. No account of a descent or inroad, meditated by the most dangerous and cruel enemy, could excite a greater alarm, than this intelligence did at Boston. It was treated in suitable language, and similar steps were taken in regard to it. On the first rumour of such a measure, a meeting of the inhabitants was summoned at Faneuil Hall, where they chose one of their late popular representatives as moderator. A committee was then appointed to wait on the governor, in order to know what grounds he had for certain intimations, which he had lately given, that some regiments of his Majesty's forces were expected in that town ; and at the same time to present a petition, desiring that he would issue precepts to

to convene a general assembly with the greatest speed. To both an immediate answer was required, nor was the answer delayed. The governor replied, that his information concerning the arrival of the troops was of a private nature, and that he could do nothing relative to the calling of an assembly, until he received further instructions from his Majesty, under whose consideration the matter then was.

1768.

A committee which had been appointed to consider of the present state of the affairs of Massachusetts Bay, gave in a long declaration and recital of their rights, and the supposed infractions of them, which had lately been attempted. They passed at the same time several hasty resolutions; particularly in regard to the legality of raising or keeping a standing army among them without their own consent. The arguments against such a measure, they founded on the well known act of King William III. which declares it contrary to law, "to keep an army in the kingdom, in time of peace, without the consent of *parliament*." This report, and the resolutions accompanying it, were unanimously agreed to by the assembly, and a general resolution was passed, also founded on a clause in the same act of King William, which recommends the frequent holding of parliaments, in consequence of which a Convention was summoned at Boston. Agreeable to this resolution James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, the four members who had represented the town in the late assembly, were now appointed as a committee to act for it in the convention; and the select-men were ordered to write to all the other towns in the province, requesting them to appoint committees for the same purpose. But the most extraordinary act of this town-meeting was a requisition to the inhabitants, That whereas there was a prevailing apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching war with France,

A committee  
passes several  
hasty resolutions.

1768. France, they would provide themselves with arms, ammunition, and the necessary accoutrements, so as to be properly prepared against sudden danger. A day of public prayer and fasting was then appointed, under the sanction of the same atrocious falsehood, and the meeting was dissolved.

Circular  
letter.

The circular letter which the select-men sent to the other towns in the province, was written in the same spirit as the acts and resolutions which it inclosed, and on which it was founded. In this time of general frenzy, however, when ninety-six towns appointed commissioners to attend the convention, the town of Hatfield refused to concur in the measure; and the spirited and judicious answer which the inhabitants returned to the select-men at Boston, will be a lasting monument of the prudence and good sense that influenced their conduct. "We are not sensible," observe they, "that the state of America is so alarming, or the state of this province so materially different from what it was a few months since, as to render the measure which you propose either salutary or necessary. The act of parliament for raising a revenue, so much complained of, has been in being and carrying into execution for a considerable time past, and proper steps have been taken by several governments on this continent to obtain redress of that grievance. Humble petitions by them ordered to be presented to his Majesty, we trust have already, or will soon reach the royal ear—be graciously received, and favourably answered; and we apprehend, that nothing that can or will be done by your proposed convention, either can or will aid the petition from the house of representatives of this province. We further propose to your consideration, whether the circular letter which gave such umbrage, containing these expressions, or others of the like import, that "the king and parliament, by the late revenue act, had infringed the rights of the colonies, imposed an inequitable tax, and



and that things yet worse might be expected from the independence and unlimited appointments of crown-officers therein mentioned," was so perfectly innocent, and entirely consistent with that duty and loyalty professed by the house of representatives last year, in their petition to his Majesty; and whether the last house might not have complied with his Majesty's requisition, with a full saving of all their rights and privileges, and thereby have prevented our being destitute of a general court at this day. 1768.

"We cannot comprehend," added they, "what pretence there can be for the purposed convention, unless the probability of a considerable number of regular troops being sent into this province, and an apprehension of their being quartered partly in your town, partly at the castle:" that it was a matter of doubt and uncertainty, whether any were coming or not, or for what purpose the king was sending them; "whether for your defence," observe they ingeniously, "in case of a French war, as you tell us there is in the minds of many a prevailing apprehension of one approaching (and which, if we do not misunderstand your letter, induced you to pass the votes transmitted to us) or whether they are destined for the defence of the new acquired territories, is altogether uncertain: that they are to be a standing army in time of peace, you give us no evidence; and if your apprehensions in regard to a French war are well grounded, it is not even supposable that they are intended as such. If your town meant sincerely, we cannot therefore see the need of interposing in military matters, in an unprecedented way, by requesting the inhabitants to be provided with arms, (a matter till now supposed to belong to another department) especially as they must know, that such a number of troops would be a much better defence, in case of war, than you had heretofore been favoured with. To suppose what you surmise they may be intended for, is to mistrust the king's paternal

1768.

paternal care and goodness; but if by any sudden tumults or insurrections of some inconsiderate people, the King has been induced to think them a necessary check upon you, we hope you will, by your loyalty and quiet behaviour, soon convince his Majesty and the world, they are no longer necessary for that purpose, and that thereupon they will be withdrawn. Suffer us then to conclude, that, in our opinion, the measures which the town of Boston is pursuing, and proposing to us and the people of this province to unite in, are unconstitutional, illegal, and wholly unjustifiable."

Proceed-  
ings of  
the con-  
vention.

That declaration had no effect upon the Convention, the first proceeding of which was a message to the governor, disclaiming all pretences to any authoritative or government acts; and declaring, that they were chosen by the several towns, and came freely and voluntarily, at the earnest desire of the people, to consult and advise such measures as might promote peace and good order, in the present alarming situation. They next repeated their manifold grievances; complained that they were grossly misrepresented in Great Britain; and pressed the governor in the most urgent terms to call a general assembly, as the only means to guard against those alarming dangers that threatened the total destruction of the colony. The governor, on the other hand, admonished them, as a friend to the province, and a well wisher to the individuals of it, to break up their assembly instantly, and separate without doing any business. He was willing to believe, he said that the gentlemen who issued the summons for this meeting, were not aware of the nature of the high offence they were committing; and that those who had obeyed them, had not considered the penalties that would be incurred, if they continued longer to sit. "At present," added he, "ignorance of the law may excuse what is past, but a step farther will take away that plea. A meeting of the  
deputies

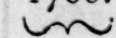
deputies of the towns, is an assembly of the representatives of the people to all intents and purposes, and calling it a *Committee of Convention* will not alter the nature of the thing." He concluded with declaring, That if they did not regard this admonition, he must, as governor, assert the prerogative of the crown in a more public manner; that they might assure themselves, for he spoke from instruction, the king was determined to maintain his entire sovereignty over that province, and whosoever should persist in usurping any of the rights of it, would repent of his rashness. 1768.

This answer produced another message, wherein the Convention justified their meeting, as being only an assemblage of private persons, and desired an explanation relative to the criminality with which their proceedings were charged. The governor refused to receive that or any other message from them, as it would be admitting them to be a legal assembly, which he could by no means allow. The Convention now appointed a committee, who drew up a report in terms of great moderation, which was approved of by the whole body. In this they assign the causes of their meeting, disclaim all pretence to any authority whatsoever, and advise and recommend to the people to pay the greatest deference to government, and to wait with patience for the result of his Majesty's wisdom and clemency for a redress of their grievances: at the same time they declare for themselves, That they will, in their several stations, yield every possible assistance to the civil magistrate, for the preservation of peace and order, and the suppression of riots and tumults. Having afterwards prepared a representation of their conduct, and a detail of many of the late transactions to be transmitted to their agent in London, the Convention broke up.

The Convention justify their meeting.



1768.



Sept. 29.

A fleet  
arrives  
from  
Halifax  
with two  
regiments  
of sol-  
diers, &c.

The same day that this irregular assembly was dissolved, and what perhaps was the cause of its moderation and short continuance, the fleet from Halifax arrived in the harbour; consisting of several frigates and sloops of war, and a considerable number of transports, with two regiments of soldiers, and a party of artillery on board. Some difficulties at first arose about quartering these troops, the council refusing to admit them into the town, as the barracks of Castle William were sufficient to receive them. That difficulty was however got over, by accepting quarters that were only to be considered as barracks; on which footing, the council agreed to allow them barrack provisions. General Gage arrived at Boston soon after, as did the two regiments from Ireland. A tolerable degree of harmony subsisted for a time between the inhabitants and the troops; and an appearance of tranquility was restored, by this symptom of vigour in the British government, not only to the province of Massachusetts Bay, but to all his majesty's dominions in North America.

Change  
in the  
ministry.

1769.

That tranquility, however, was of short duration. Meanwhile several changes took place in the British ministry, and various measures were proposed with respect to the colonies. Lord North was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, in consequence of the death of the Honourable Charles Townshend; and the Earl of Chatham, finding that the first Lord of the Treasury, though reputed his political pupil, was no longer willing to be implicitly guided by him, resigned his place of lord keeper of the privy-seal. The Earl of Shelburne also resigned his office of secretary of state, and was succeeded by Lord Weymouth, from the northern department. Soon after these, and other changes, the American affairs came formally before the parliament; and as an attention to the subject had been particularly recommended from the throne, it was considered to be the principal business of the session.

Resolutions and an address to his Majesty on the subject of these affairs, were accordingly passed by both houses. In those resolutions, the late acts of the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, which tended to call in question, or import a denial of the authority of the supreme legislature to make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, were declared to be illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory, to the rights of the crown and parliament of Great Britain. The circular letters written by the same assembly, to those of the other provinces, requiring them to join in petitions, and stating the late laws to be infringements of the rights of the people in the colonies, were also declared to be proceedings of a most unwarrantable and dangerous nature, calculated to inflame the minds of the inhabitants, and tending to create undue combinations, contrary to the laws, and subversive of the constitution of Great Britain.

1769.

Feb. 8.

Both Houses of Parliament address his Majesty on the proceedings of the people of Massachusetts Bay.

The town of Boston was declared to have been for some time past in a state of great disorder and confusion, disturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, during which the officers of the revenue had been obstructed by violence in the execution of the laws, and their lives endangered; that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary civil magistrates, had exerted their authority for the suppressing of such tumults and riots; that, in these circumstances of the province of Massachusetts Bay, and of the town of Boston, the preservation of the public peace, and the due execution of the laws, became impracticable, without the aid of a military force to support and protect the civil magistrate, and the officers of his Majesty's revenue; that the declarations, resolutions, and proceedings in the town-meetings at Boston were illegal and unconstitutional, and calculated to excite sedition and insurrection; that the appointment of a Convention, to consist of the deputies from

Boston declared to be in a state of great disorder.

the

1769.

the several towns and districts in the province, and the writing of a letter by the select-men to each of the said towns and districts, for the election of such deputies, were proceedings subversive of government, and evidently manifesting a design on the inhabitants of Boston, to set up a new and unconstitutional authority independent of the crown. The elections by the several towns and districts of deputies to sit in the Convention, and its meeting, were also declared to be daring insults offered to his Majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government.

Great  
satisfac-  
tion ex-  
pressed  
at the  
measure  
taken to  
support  
the au-  
thority  
of G. B.  
over the  
colonies.

In the address, the greatest satisfaction was expressed at the measures which had been pursued to support the constitution, and to induce in the colony of Massachusetts Bay a due obedience to the authority of the mother-country. The most inviolable resolution was declared, to concur effectually in such further measures as might be judged necessary to maintain the civil magistrate in a proper execution of the laws; and it was given as a matter of opinion, That nothing would so effectually preserve royal authority in that province, as bringing the authors of the late unhappy disorders to exemplary punishment. In consequence of this opinion, it was earnestly requested, that Governor Bernard might be directed to transmit the fullest information that could be procured of all treasons, or misprision of treason committed within his government, since the thirtieth of December 1767, together with the names of the persons who were most active in perpetration of such offences, that his majesty might issue a commission for inquiring into, hearing, and determining upon the guilt of the offenders within this realm, pursuant to the provisions of a statute made in the 30th year of King Henry VIII. in case his majesty, upon Governor Bernard's report, should see sufficient ground for such a proceeding.

But



But though this address, and the resolutions that accompanied it, were carried through both houses of parliament by a great majority, no measures were ever opposed with more firmness, and few debates have been more ably managed, than those of both sides of the question. The Rockingham and Grenville parties, supposed to be irreconcilable in regard to American affairs, united on this occasion. They urged, that admitting the repeal of the Stamp Act to have been an improper measure, as experience seemed to prove, yet from the moment of that repeal the policy of the mother-country was altered, though her rights were not abridged, as an attempt to tax the colonies no longer stood on its ancient foundation of wisdom and practicability; that it was now the mode with those who had been the cause of all the present disorders in America, to represent the people there, as nearly in a state of rebellion; and thus artfully to make the cause of the ministry the national cause, and to persuade us, that because the colonists (aggravated by a series of blunders and mismanagements, and emboldened by the weakness and inconsistency of government) have shewn their impatience in the commission of several irregular and very indefensible acts, that they want to throw off the authority of the mother-country: that it was indeed true, that popular prejudices were very dangerously meddled with, and therefore all wise governments made very great allowances for them, and when there was a necessity for counteracting them, did it always with the greatest art and caution; that the temper of our American colonists in this respect, was well known from the former trial, which had least experiment and importance to plead; but what arguments could be urged in favour of the present attempt, or what hope entertained that it would meet with less opposition?—A number of duties were laid on, which derive their consequence only from their odiousness, and the mischiefs they have produced, and an army

1769.

The  
Grenville  
and  
Rock-  
ingham  
parties  
oppose  
the ad-  
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of

1769.

of custom-house officers, still more odious, was sent to collect them; that this odiousness chiefly arose from an opinion, that the taxes were created for the officers, as indeed they could scarcely serve any other purpose; and that the imprudence of the measure had made another army necessary to enforce it. But how could it be expected that any such measure could be executed without force?—Had not those who were the framers of the bill, or at least under whose auspices these duties were laid on, been themselves the zealous supporters\*, at the head of that opinion which totally denies the right in the legislature to tax America? Had not their names been held up in the colonies as objects of the highest veneration, and their arguments made the foundation of whatever was there understood to be constitutional in writing or speaking?—What wonder then, that the Americans, with such great authorities to support them in opinions so flattering to their importance, should fly, in that warmth of passion naturally inspired by a disappointed pride, into the greatest extravagancies, on a direct and immediate violation of what they were taught to consider as their most undoubted and invaluable rights! Can we be surprised, in a word, that such unaccountable contradictions between language and conduct, should produce the unhappy consequences which we now experience?

The bringing of delinquents from the province of Massachusetts to be tried in England, greatly opposed.

That part of the address which proposed the bringing of delinquents from the province of Massachusetts Bay, to be tried at a tribunal in this kingdom, for crimes supposed to be committed there, met with still greater opposition than the resolves, and underwent many severe animadversions. Such a pro-

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\* The Earl of Chatham, Lord Camden, and others of the party, who were equally active in procuring the repeal of the stamp-act, and in opposing the right of taxation; but who afterwards acquiesced at least in the port duties.

a proceeding was said to be directly contrary to the spirit of our constitution. A man charged with a crime is, by the laws of England, usually tried in the county in which he is supposed to have committed the offence; in order that the circumstances of his crime may be more clearly examined, and that the knowledge which the jurors there receive of his general character, and of the credibility of the witnesses, may assist them in pronouncing, with a greater degree of certainty, upon his innocence or guilt. As the constitution has secured this mode of trial, from a conviction of its utility, to every subject in England, under what colour of justice can he be deprived of it by going to America?—Is his life, his fortune, his character, less estimable in the eye of the law there than here? or are we to mete out different portions of justice to British subjects, which are to lessen in degree, in proportion to their distance from the capital of the empire?—If a colonist has violated the laws, by a crime committed in America, let him be tried there for the offence; and if found guilty, punished, as the law in such case directs: but let him not be torn away to the distance of above three thousand miles across the ocean, from his family, his friends, his business, his connexions; from every assistance, countenance, comfort, and counsel, necessary to support a man under such unhappy circumstances, to be tried by a jury who are not in reality his peers—who are probably prejudiced against him, and may perhaps think themselves interested in his conviction.

It was replied by the friends of administration, The mis-  
 that the repeal of the stamp-act, in its consequences, nistry  
 had disappointed the expectations of the sincere justify  
 well-wishers of America; that instead of producing their pro-  
 the hoped for effects of gratitude and a due sub- ceedings.  
 mission to government, in return for the tender  
 consideration shewn to the supposed distresses of the  
 colonists, it had operated in such a manner on their  
 licen-



1769.  licentiousness, as to make it necessary to establish some positive mark of their dependence on the mother-country; that the late duties so much complained of, were for one of the very reasons now objected to them, the smallness of their produce, chosen as sufficient to answer that purpose; they were the least oppressive that could be thought of, and the least grievous; they were not internal taxes, and their whole produce was to be applied to the support of the civil establishment of the colonies; that the republican principles, and licentious disposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, being operated upon by some factious and designing men among them, had broke out into acts of the most daring insolence, and the most outrageous violence, which sufficiently demonstrated the original necessity of making them sensible of their dependence upon the British legislature; that by the language held forth, and the writings published among them, they seemed rather to consider themselves as members of an independent state, than as the people of a colony and province belonging to this empire.

From the ill-judged system of policy, it was observed, upon which the government of that province had been originally established, the council is appointed by the assembly, and the grand juries are elected by the townships: hence those factious men, already mentioned, having got a great lead in the assembly, and being themselves the rulers of the popular phrenzy, guided and directed according to their pleasure the whole civil government, so that all justice and order were at an end where-ever their interests or passions were concerned; that in such circumstances the populace, freed from all legal restraints, and those who should have been the supporters of government and the conservators of the public peace, setting the first example of contempt to the one themselves, and giving every pri-  
pri-

vate encouragement to the breach of the other, had at length proceeded to the commission of such atrocious acts, as though not now deemed downright rebellion, would in other times have been considered and punished as such, by an exertion of the supreme authority of the state, or a regular judgment of law; and which, however extenuated, were offences of a very high nature: that it was therefore full time for government to interfere, and effectually to curb disorders, which if suffered to proceed any farther, could no longer be mentioned by that name; that the example set by the people of Boston, and the rash and daring measure adopted by their assembly, of sending circular letters to the other colonies, had already produced a great effect; and, unless seasonably checked, was likely to have set the whole continent of North America in a flame; that some ships of war and troops were accordingly sent to Boston, where without bloodshed, or coming to any violent extremity, they had been able to restore order and quiet not only to that town, but to the whole province of Massachusetts Bay.

It was farther observed, that nothing but the most spirited and vigorous resolutions, supported by a succession of measures, equally firm and vigorous, could bring the colonies to a proper sense of their duty and their dependence upon the supreme legislature; that the spirit which prevailed in Boston was so subversive of all order and civil government, and the conduct of the magistrates had left so little room for any hope of their properly fulfilling their duty, during the continuance of the present ferment, that it became absolutely necessary to revive and put in execution that law of Henry VIII. by which the king is empowered to appoint a commission in England, for the trial here of any of his subjects guilty of treason in any part of the world; that unless this measure was adopted, the most flagrant

O

acts

1769. acts of treason and rebellion might be committed in that town and province with impunity, as the civil power there was neither disposed, nor able to take cognizance of them; that the persons who were guilty of those crimes, and who had already occasioned so much trouble and confusion, were no objects of compassion, therefore every objection which arose from any disagreeable circumstances that might attend this mode of bringing them to justice fell to the ground, as these ought only to be considered as a small part of the punishment due to their crimes; that it was ungenerous to suppose government would make an improper use of this law, by the harassing of innocent persons, and that there was no reason to call in question the integrity or the impartiality of our juries.

Jan. 8,  
1770.  
A new  
change  
in the  
ministry.

Before any new measures were taken with respect to America, or any material change had happened in the affairs of that continent, a new change took place in the British ministry. Lord Camden resigned the seals, and the Duke of Grafton his office of first lord of the treasury. Various other persons of eminence threw up their places; and the whole administration seemed falling to pieces, when the promotion of one man gave it a stability; which it had not known in the present reign, nor perhaps in any reign since the days of Elizabeth. Lord North was appointed first commissioner of the Treasury, in the room of the Duke of Grafton; whose incapacity as a minister was thought to be, as evident, as his accomplishments as a nobleman are universally confessed. From that moment, a more consistent plan, in regard to America, was pursued, and greater order was introduced into every department of government. The new minister immediately moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the late act, imposing certain port duties in America, as related to the duties on paper, painters-colours, and glass. These he observed,  
with



with that perfect knowledge of trade and finances which has distinguished his administration, being British manufactures, it was absurd to tax them; but that tea being an article of commerce, it was proper the tax on it should be continued, especially as the consumers in the colonies would still have it cheaper than the people in England, the American port-duty being nine-pence per pound less than the British. This was sound reasoning; and though a total repeal was warmly contended for, his lordship persisted in his motion, and carried the partial repeal. It would perhaps have been more consistent, however, with the dignity as well as the wisdom of a great minister, to have relinquished the duty on tea along with the rest, as it was scarcely sufficient to answer the expence of collecting it, and to have relied upon some future occasion for asserting the authority of the mother-country over her colonies in a matter of more importance, since the right of taxation was rendered indisputable by a positive act of the supreme legislature\*.

1770.

The state of affairs in America was soon after brought formally under the consideration of parliament, in consequence of an account which had been received of an alarming riot in Boston between the soldiers and the inhabitants †; and a motion was

May 8.

American affairs brought under the consideration of parliament.

\* Other arguments have been urged against continuing the duty upon tea, arising from an experience of its fatal consequences; but as these could not be foreseen at this time, and were the result of a new measure, adopted from too partial a regard to the interests of the East India company, the author of this work has paid no attention to them.

† Various accounts of this unhappy fray have been published, some of which flatly contradict each other; but the truth appears to have been nearly as follows. The arrival of his majesty's troops in Boston being extremely disagreeable to the inhabitants, every method was used to seduce them from their duty; and as soon as their number was diminished, by the departure of two regiments for Halifax, a resolution was formed to expel them. The soldiers had some intimation of this intention;

1770. was made by the minority for an address to the throne, setting forth the necessity of an inquiry, how the ministers here, no less than the officers there, have managed so unfortunately as to kindle the present flame of dissention between the mother-country and her colonies. In fulfilling this duty, it was observed, the matter of fact must not only be considered, but the right of things: not only the turbulence of the Americans, but the cause of that turbulence; and not only the power of the crown, but the equity with which that power had been exercised. The motion was rejected by a great majority, as were several resolutions to the same purport: and the disposition of the colonies to disclaim all dependence on the mother-country; the necessity of supporting its authority and the dignity of government;

tention; and also that the inhabitants carried weapons concealed under their cloaths, and meant to destroy them, as they were, "now but a handful!" the significant language used by one of their magistrates from the seat of justice. Insults and injuries took place daily, after this suspicion, between the town's people and the troops, till the hatred of the former knew no bounds. At length, the fifth and sixth of March seem to have been agreed on for a general trial of strength. With that view several parties of the militia came from the country armed, in order to join their friends; but on this, as on most occasions of a similar nature, the impatience of the populace brought matters to extremity before the scheme was ripe for execution. On Monday, March 5, 1770, two soldiers were attacked and beat about eight o'clock in the evening. The alarm bell was rung in order to collect the inhabitants, and the beacon was intended to be lighted, to bring in aid from the distant country. Captain Preston, who commanded for the day, immediately repaired to the main guard; and in his way thither he saw the people in great commotion, and heard use the most cruel and horrid threats against the troops. The tumult thickened; a general attack was made upon the military with clubs and bludgeons, after mutual injuries had passed between individuals; some of the soldiers, provoked by blows, fired upon the mob; three men were killed upon the spot, and four dangerously wounded. Through the interposition of Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, farther mischief was prevented; but he was under the necessity of ordering the troops, for the future, to confine themselves to Castle William.

ment; the right of the crown to station troops in any part of the British empire, together with the necessity of employing them to support the laws, where the people were in little less than a state of rebellion, were urged by administration as unanswerable arguments of the propriety of establishing a military force in America.

1770.  


The necessity of such a force indeed became every day more evident. The discontents and disorders occasioned by the port-duties, continued to accompany the remaining one upon tea, in a greater or less degree, through all the old colonies on the continent. The same spirit pervaded the whole. Even those colonies which depended most on the mother-country for the consumption of their productions, entered into similar associations with the others; and nothing was to be heard but resolutions for the encouragement of their own manufactures, the consumption of home products, the discouragement of foreign articles, and the retrenchment of all superfluities. Still, however, these were only symptoms of discontent, which had little effect on the trade between Great Britain and her colonies: for although that trade had somewhat stagnated on the late non importation agreement, it revived again, and even flourished; and though the article of tea was, by the resolutions of several colonies strictly prohibited, it continued to be introduced both from England and other countries\*, and the duties were paid, though with some small appearance of exterior guard and caution. But in the meantime, the governors of most of the colonies, and the people, were in a continual state of warfare. Assemblies were repeatedly called, and as suddenly dissolved; and while sitting, they were wholly

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\* This importation from other countries was the chief reason why the duty was continued, and why it was laid in America rather than in England.



1770. wholly employed in reiterating grievances and framing remonstrances.

Burning  
of the  
Gaspee  
schooner  
June 10,  
1772.

The greatest outrage, which was committed in this state of disorder, happened at Providence in Rhode Island, where his Majesty's armed schooner, the Gaspee, having been stationed to prevent the smuggling, for which that place was notorious, the vigilance of the officer, who commanded the vessel, so enraged the people, that they boarded her at midnight, to the number of two hundred armed men, and after wounding him, and forcing him and his people to go on shore, concluded this daring exploit by burning the schooner. Though a reward of 500l. together with a pardon, if claimed by an accomplice, was offered by proclamation for the discovering and apprehending any of the persons concerned in this atrocious act, no effectual discovery could be made.

Great  
heats at  
Boston,  
occasion-  
ed by the  
discovery  
of certain  
letters.

An odd incident happened, which served to revive, with double force, all the ill temper and animosity that had long subsisted between the executive part of government and the people, in the province of Massachusetts Bay. This was the accidental discovery, and publication of a number of confidential letters, which had been written during the course of the unhappy disputes with the mother country, by the then governor and deputy-governor of that colony, to persons in power and office in England. The letters contained a very unfavourable representation of the state of affairs, the temper and disposition of the people, and the views of their leaders, in that province; and tended to shew, not only the necessity of the most coercive measures; but that even a very considerable change of the constitution, and system of government, was necessary, to secure the obedience of the colony.

These

These letters indeed were in part confidential and private ; but the people of the colony insisted, that they were evidently intended to influence the conduct of government, and must therefore be shewn to such persons as had an interest in preserving their privileges. Upon the death of a gentleman in whose possession these letters then happened, they by some means which were not known, fell into the hands of the agent for the colony of Massachusetts Bay, who immediately transmitted them to the assembly of that province, which was then sitting at Boston. The indignation and animosity which these letters excited on the one side, and the confusion on the other, neither need nor admit of description.

1772.

After several violent resolutions in the house of representatives, the letters were presented to the council, under the strictest injunction from the representatives, that the persons, who were to shew them should not by any means suffer them, even for a moment, out of their own immediate hands. This affront to the governor was adopted by the council; and, upon his requiring to examine the letters that were attributed to him, thereby to be enabled, either to acknowledge them if genuine, or to reprobate them if spurious, that board, under the pretence of this restriction, refused to deliver them into his hands; but sent a committee to open them before him, that he might examine the hand writing. To this indignity he was obliged to submit, as well as to the mortification of acknowledging the signature.

Such a new source of discord was not wanting in June 23. that colony. The house of assembly passed a petition and remonstrance to his Majesty, in which they charged their governor and lieutenant-governor with being betrayers of their trusts, and of the people they governed; of giving private, partial, and false information; declared them enemies to the colony, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy

Petition  
for the re-  
moval of  
the go-  
vernor  
and lieu-  
tenant-  
governor,

1772.



speedy removal from their places. So wide was the discontent, and so weak the powers of government in that assembly, that these charges with many others, were carried through by a majority of 82 to 12.

1773.

As we have just observed, the article of tea to be continued notwithstanding the strong resolutions of the colonists, to be still imported into America; yet by the advantages which foreigners had in the sale of the low priced teas, as well as the general odium attending the British teas, which, as bearing a parliamentary duty, were considered as instruments of slavery, the East India company was thought to suffer much by the dispute with the colonies.

Scheme  
for the  
exporta-  
tion of  
tea by the  
East In-  
dia com-  
pany to  
the co-  
lonies.

Thus circumstanced, the minister in the last session, as some apparent consolation to that company for the strong measures which were then pursued against it by government, brought in a bill, by which they were enabled to export their teas, duty free, to all places whatsoever. In consequence of this measure, the company departed in some degree from its established mode, of disposing of its teas by public sales to the merchants and dealers, and adopted the new system, of becoming its own exporter and factor. Several ships were accordingly freighted with teas for the different colonies by the company, where it also appointed agents for the disposal of that commodity.

The success of this scheme, and any utility to be derived from it, if it did succeed, were at the time much questioned: some active members in that company, and one gentleman of great consideration amongst them, remonstrated against it, as rather calculated for the establishment of the revenue law in America, than as a favour of service to the company. It is true, that they had then about seventeen millions of pounds of tea in their ware-houses; but though this appeared an immense quantity to those



those who were not versed in the state of the trade, it was said, in reality to be only equal to about two years usual consumption, and it was always intended to have a year's stock in hand. 1773.

It appears that the company was not itself quite satisfied as to the utility of this measure, and accordingly consulted some of the most eminent persons in the tea trade upon the subject. By some of the most intelligent of these it was represented, as the wildest scheme that could be imagined, and the most remote from affording the relief which they wanted. That even supposing it attended with all the success of which it was possibly capable, the returns would be too slow and too precarious, to supply in any degree the company's present exigencies in point of cash; that on the other hand it would certainly be offering the greatest injury to the merchants, who were their established and never-failing customers; who purchased their teas at all risks, and paid vast sums of money at stated times independent of them. Certain measures were also proposed, relative to the holding of two public sales within given distances of time, by which the company would not only dispose of all its teas, but would receive, as they supposed, by the first payment, at the end only of five months, no less than 1,200,000*l.* in cash: a sum so considerable, and to be paid in so short a time, that it would probably enable them to refrain from the fatal loan, which they were negotiating with the public. The first measure, being a favourite with government, was adopted, notwithstanding these reasons and proposals.

If such were the opinions formed upon this scheme at home, it was universally considered in the colonies, as calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue law, and thereby open the door to an unlimited taxation. For it was easily seen, that if the tea was once landed and in

1773.

the custody of the consignees, no associations, nor other measures, would be sufficient to prevent its sale and consumption; and nobody could pretend to imagine, that when taxation was established in one instance, it would restrain itself in others. Besides that all the dealers both legal and clandestine, who as tea is an article of such general consumption in America, were extremely powerful, saw their trade taken at once out of their hands. They supposed it would all fall into the hands of the company's consignees, to whom they must become in a great measure dependent, if they could hope to trade at all. The East India company by the late regulations was brought entirely under the direction of government. The consignees were of course such as favoured administration, and for that reason the most unpopular people in America. Particularly at Boston, they were of the family and nearest connections of those gentlemen, whose letters as we have observed, had at that time kindled such prodigious heats and animosities among the people. It was at an unlucky time that they thought they saw a monopoly formed in favour of the most obnoxious persons, and that too for the purpose of confirming an odious tax. The same spirit seemed to run like wildfire throughout the colonies, and without any apparent previous concert, it was every where determined, to prevent the landing of the teas at all events.

particular  
causes  
which  
operated  
in rendering that  
measure  
more generally  
obnoxious.

At the same time, The East-India company became so exceedingly odious to the people, that a mere opposition to her interests, abstracted from all other causes, would have embarrassed any measure that was undertaken in her favour. The colonists said, that she was quitting her usual line of conduct, and wantonly becoming the instrument of giving efficacy to a law which they detested: thereby involving them, as they affirmed, in the present dangerous dilemma, either of submission to the establishment.

blishment of a precedent which they deemed fatal to their liberties, or of bringing matters to a crisis which they dreaded, by adopting the only means that seemed left to prevent its execution. 1773.

As the time approached when the arrival of the tea ships for the execution of the new plan was expected, the people assembled at different places in great bodies, and began to take such measures as seemed most effectual to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea consignees, who had been appointed by the E. I. company, were obliged in most places (and in some, at the peril of life as well as property) to relinquish their appointments, and to enter into public engagements not to act in that capacity. Committees were appointed by the people in different towns and provinces, whom they armed with such powers as they supposed themselves enabled to bestow. They were authorized to inspect merchants books, to propose tests, to punish those whom they considered as contumacious, by the dangerous prosecution of declaring them enemies to their country, and of assembling the people when they thought necessary. In a word, their powers were as indefinite, as the authority under which they acted.

Resolutions universally entered into to prevent the landing of the teas.  
Committees appointed.

In the tumultuous assemblies which were frequently held upon this occasion, numberless resolutions were passed, extremely derogatory with respect to the authority of the supreme legislature. Inflammatory hand-bills, and other seditious papers were continually published; nor were the conductors of news-papers, nor the writers of various pamphlets, much more guarded in their conduct, or temperate in their manner. Even at Philadelphia, which had been so long celebrated, for the excellency of its police and government, and temperate manners of its inhabitants, printed papers were dispersed, warning the pilots on the river Delaware, not to conduct any

Tumultuous assemblies of the people in different colonies.



1773.



any of these tea ships into their harbour, which were only sent for the purpose of enslaving and poisoning all the Americans; at the same time, giving them plainly to understand it was expected, that they would apply their knowledge of the river, under the colour of their profession, in such a manner, as would effectually secure their country from so imminent a danger. At New-York, in a similar publication, those ships are said to be laden with the fetters which had been forged for them in Great-Britain, and every vengeance is denounced against all persons, who dare in any manner contribute to the introduction of those chains. All the colonies seemed to have instantly united in this point.

Three  
ships laden  
with  
tea arrive  
at Boston,

The town of Boston, which had been so long obnoxious to government, was the scene of the first outrage. Three ships laden with tea, having arrived in that port, the captains were terrified into a concession, that if they were permitted by the consignees, the board of customs, and the Fort of Castle William, they would return with their cargoes to England. These promises could not be fulfilled; the consignees refused to discharge the captains from the obligations under which they were chartered for the delivery of their cargoes; the custom-house refused them clearance for their return:—and the governor to grant them a passport for clearing the fort.

Dec. 18.

In this state, it was easily seen by the people of the town, that the ships lying so near, the teas would be landed by degrees, notwithstanding any guard they could keep, or measures take to prevent it; and it was as well known, that if they were landed, nothing could prevent their being disposed of, and thereby the purpose of establishing the monopoly, and raising a revenue fulfilled. To prevent this dreadful consequence, a number of armed men, under the disguise of Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships,

ships, and in a few hours discharged the whole cargoes of tea into the sea, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews. It was remarkable, that the government, civil power, garrison of Fort William, and armed ships in the harbour, were totally inactive upon this occasion.

1773.

Their cargoes thrown into the sea.

Some smaller quantities of tea, met afterwards with a similar fate, at Boston, and a few other places; but in general, the commissioners for the sale of that commodity, having been obliged to relinquish their employment, and no other persons daring to receive the cargoes which were consigned to them, the masters of the tea vessels, from these circumstances, as well as from a knowledge of danger, and the determined resolution of the people, readily complied with the terms which were prescribed, of returning directly to England, without entangling themselves by any entry at the custom-houses. At New-York it was indeed landed under the cannon of a man of war. But the government there were obliged to consent to its being locked up from use. In South Carolina some was thrown into the river as at Boston.

Similar outrages in some other places; most of the tea ships obliged to return home with their cargoes, and the entire scheme rendered every where abortive.

Such was the issue of this unfortunate scheme. Some disposition to these disturbances was known pretty early; but as their utmost extent was still unknown, the meeting of parliament was deferred until after the holidays, the transactions of which, with respect to American affairs, will more properly come under the head of our third chapter.

## CHAP. III.

*A summary account of all the American acts, passed in the British parliament, from January 13, 1774, to the 22d of June following.*

Jan. 13.  
1774.

Parliament  
meets.

Message  
relative  
to the  
transac-  
tions in  
America.

THE speech from the throne at the opening of this parliament, January 13th, 1774, contained nothing very striking. Business of common occurrences engrossed the attention of the house, until the American dispatches arrived, March 7, which brought advice of the outrages committed on board the tea ships at Boston. This intelligence occasioned a message from the throne to both houses, in which they were informed, that in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament,

American  
papers laid  
before the  
House.

This message was attended with a great number of papers relating to the late transactions in the colonies, containing copies and extracts of letters from the several governors; from the commander of the forces; from the admiral in Boston harbour; from the consignees of the tea at Boston, to one of the ringleaders of the faction in that town, with votes and resolves of the town of Boston, previous to the landing of the tea, and narratives of the transactions which succeeded that event, &c. &c.—They also contained details from the different governors, of all transactions relative to the teas, which took place in their respective governments, from the first intelligence of their being shipped in England, to the dates of these letters, which were in number 109.

As



As the same spirit pervaded the whole continent, 1774.  
 so the same language, sentiment, and manner, pre-  
 vailed in all these written or printed pieces, whether  
 circulated in the province of Massachuset's, or in  
 the other colonies.

The presentment of the papers was accompanied  
 with a comment upon them, and particularly those  
 that related to the transactions at Boston, in which  
 the conduct of the governor was described and ap-  
 plauded, and that of the prevailing faction repre-  
 sented in the most atrocious light. It was said that  
 he had taken every measure which prudence could  
 suggest, or good policy justify, for the security of  
 the East-India company's property, the safety of  
 the consignees, and the preserving of order and  
 quiet in the town.

Com-  
 ments  
 thereon.

That he had it undoubtedly in his power, by  
 calling in the assistance of the naval force which was  
 in the harbour, to have prevented the destruction  
 of the tea; but as the leading men in Boston had  
 always made great complaints of the interposition  
 of the army and navy, and charged all disturban-  
 ces of every sort to their account, he with great  
 prudence and temper, determined from the begin-  
 ning to decline a measure, which would have been  
 so irritating to the minds of the people; and might  
 well have hoped, that by this confidence in their  
 conduct, and trust reposed in the civil power, he  
 should have calmed their turbulence, and preserved  
 the public tranquillity.

Conduct  
 of the  
 governor  
 applaud-  
 ed

Thus, said the ministers, the people of Boston  
 were fairly tried. They were left to their own con-  
 duct, and to the exercise of their judgment, and  
 the result has given the lie to their former professions.  
 They are now without an excuse; and all the  
 powers of government within that province, are  
 found insufficient to prevent the most violent out-  
 rages.

It

1774. It was concluded upon the whole, that by an impartial review of the papers now before them, it would manifestly appear, that nothing could be done either by civil, military, or naval officers, to effectuate the re-establishment of tranquility and order in that province, without additional parliamentary powers to give efficacy to their proceedings.

Reasons  
assigned  
for coer-  
sive mea-  
sures.

That it was therefore incumbent on every member to weigh and consider, with an attention suitable to the great importance of the subject, the purport of the papers before them, and totally laying all prejudices aside, to form his opinion upon the measures most eligible to be pursued, for supporting the supreme legislative authority, the dignity of parliament, and the great interests of the British Empire. This is in substance what was urged by ministry upon the subject when they presented the papers.

An ad-  
dress to  
the  
Throne.

The spirit now raised against the Americans became as high and as strong as could be desired, both within and without the house. In this temper a motion was made for an address to the throne, "to return thanks for the message, and the gracious communication of the American papers, with an assurance that they would not fail to exert every means in their power, of effectually providing for objects so important to the general welfare, as maintaining the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain."

The Mi-  
nister's  
advan-  
tage in  
this ad-  
dress.

By the voting this address ministry gained a greater advantage than at first appeared, for they found by the disposition of the house which was strongly against all retrospect, that they would confine themselves to the mere misbehaviour of the Americans. The violence of the Americans was public and unquestioned, and when the enquiry was

con-

confined to that ground, it would be easy to carry any proposition against them. It was of great consequence to the minister, that no part whatsoever of the weakness and disorderly state of so many governments, should be laid to the charge of those who had for some years the entire direction of them in their hands. 1774.

As the storm which was gathering against the colonies would probably be directed against Massachusetts Bay, Mr. Bollan, agent for the council of that province, thought it necessary to present to the house, by way of precaution, a petition desiring that he might be permitted to lay before the house the *acta regia* of Queen Elizabeth and her successors, for the security of the Planters, and their descendants, and the perpetual enjoyment of their liberties. These documents he presumed had never been laid before the house, nor had the colonies ever had an opportunity to ascertain and defend these rights. This petition was received without difficulty, and ordered to lie upon the table. Petition received from Bolland the agent.

The minister, after having moved that the King's message of the 7th of March should be read, opened his plan for restoration of peace, order, justice, and commerce in Massachusetts Bay, by proposing, "that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea which had been destroyed in their port; also security to be given in future, that trade may be safely carried on, property protected, laws obeyed, and duties regularly paid. Otherwise the punishment of a single illegal act is no reformation." It would be therefore proper to take away from Boston the privilege of a port until his Majesty should be satisfied in these particulars, and publicly declare in council, on a proper certificate of the good behaviour of the town, that he was so satisfied.—By this Boston might certainly suffer. But she ought to suffer; and by this resolution Condition of the Boston Port Bill.



1774. lution would suffer far less punishment than her delinquencies fully justified. For she was not wholly precluded from all supply. She was by this proposition only to be virtually removed seventeen miles from the sea. The duration of her punishment was entirely in her own power. For when she should discharge this just debt to the E. I. company which had been contracted by her own violence, and given full assurances of obedience in future to the laws of trade and revenue; there was no doubt, but that his Majesty, to whom he proposed to leave that power, would again open the port, and exercise that mercy which was agreeable to his royal disposition; whereupon leave was given to bring in a bill "*for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of the customs from the town of Boston in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, in North America, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize at the said town of Boston, or within the harbour thereof.*"

Boston  
port-bill  
brought  
in, Mar.  
14.

At the first introduction it was received with very general applause. The equity of obliging a delinquent town to make satisfaction for the disorders which arose from their factious spirit, and negligent police, was so striking, that many things which might appear exceptionable in the act were overlooked. The cry raised against the Americans, partly the natural effect of their own acts, and partly of the operations of government, was so strong as nearly to overbear the most resolute and determined in the opposition. Several of those who had been most sanguine favourers of the colonies now condemned their behaviour; and applauded the measure, as not only just, but lenient.

Second  
Petition  
from Bol-  
lan refus-  
ed.

But in the progress of the bill, opposition seemed to collect itself, and to take a more active part. Mr. Bollan, the agent of the council of Massachusetts

set's Bay, presented a petition, desiring to be heard for the said council, and in behalf of himself and other inhabitants in the town of Boston. The house refused to receive the petition. It was said, that the agent of the council was not agent for the corporation, and no agent could be received from a body corporate, except he were appointed by all the necessary constituent parts of that body. Besides, the council was fluctuating, and the body by which he was appointed could not be then actually existing. This vote of rejection was heavily censured. The opposition cried out at the inconsistency of the house, who but a few days ago received a petition from this very man in this very character; and now, only because they chuse to exert their power in acts of injustice and contradiction, totally refuse to receive any thing from him, as not duly qualified. Were not the reasons equally strong against receiving the first as the second petition? But what, they asserted, made this conduct the more unnecessary and outrageous, was, that at that time the house of lords were actually hearing Mr. Bollan on his petition, as a person duly qualified, at their bar. Thus, said they, this house is at once in contradiction to the other, and to itself. As to the reasons given against his qualification, they are equally applicable to all American agents; none of whom are appointed as the minister now requires they should be—and thus the house cuts off all communication between them and the colonies whom they are affecting by their acts.

The bill passed the house on the 25th of March, passed, and was carried up to the lords, where it was like- Mar. 25. wise warmly debated, but as in the commons, it passed without a division. It received the royal assent on the 31st of March.

The disposition to carry things to extremities with America was become very general; and as the

1774.

1774.

the repeal of the stamp-act was much condemned by the ministerial side, and its authors greatly decried, they reposed the highest confidence in the success of measures of a contrary nature.

April 15,  
A Bill for  
the better  
regulat-  
ing the  
govern-  
ment of  
Massa-  
chuset's  
bay.

The Boston port bill formed only one part of the coercive plan proposed by the ministry as the effectual method of bringing her to obedience. Others of a deeper and more extensive nature were behind, and appeared in due time. Soon after a bill was brought in for "*the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay.*" The purpose of this bill was to alter the constitution of that province as it stood upon the charter of King William; to take the whole executive power out of the hands of the democratic part, and to vest the nomination of counsellors, judges, and magistrates of all kinds, including Sheriffs, in the crown, and in some cases, in the King's governor, and all to be removeable at the pleasure of the crown.

May 2,

This bill passed by a prodigious majority, after a debate which lasted with uncommon spirit for many hours.

Massa-  
chuset's  
Bay Bill.

The disposition so prevalent in both houses to strong measures was highly favourable to the whole ministerial plan for reducing America to obedience. The good reception of the proposal for changing the charter government of Massachusetts Bay, encouraged them to propose very soon after another bill, without which, it was said, that the scheme would be entirely defective. In the committee on American papers, it was ordered, that the chairman should move for leave to bring in "*a Bill for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England.*"

This



This bill provides, that in case any person is indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, and that it shall appear to the governor, that the fact was committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy, in suppressing tumults and riots, and that it shall appear to the governor, that a fair trial cannot be had in the province, he shall send the person so indicted, &c. to any other colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried. The charges on both sides to be borne out of the customs. This act to continue for four years.

1774.

provision  
of the  
bill.

The debate on this bill was even more warm than on the former, and the publications of the time quote an old member who is rarely in opposition, as having ended his speech with these remarkable words: "I will now take my leave of the whole plan,—you will commence your ruin from this day. "I am sorry to say, that not only the house has fallen into the error, but the people approve of the measure.—The people, I am sorry to say it, are misled. "But a short time will prove the evil tendency of "this Bill. If ever there was a nation running headlong to its ruin, it is this."

The bill passed the house on the sixth of May, and being carried up to the house of peers, occasioned warm debates upon the same principles upon which it was discussed in the house of commons. The lords of the minority entered on this, as on the former bill, a very strong protest.

passed, 6  
May.

The session was drawing near to the usual time of recess; and the greatest number of the members, fatigued with a long attendance on the American bills, were retired into the country. In this situation, a bill which has engaged a great deal of the public attention was brought into the house of lords: "The bill for making more effectual provision for the province of Quebec in North America.

Quebec  
Bill  
brought  
in.

The

1774.

property  
of this  
bill.

June 8th.

The principle objects of this bill, were to ascertain the limits of that province, which were extended far beyond what had been settled as such by the King's proclamation of 1763. To form a legislative council for all the affairs of that province, except taxation, which council should be appointed by the crown, the office to be held during pleasure; and his Majesty's Canadian Roman catholic subjects were entitled to a place in it. To establish the French laws, and a trial without jury, in civil cases, and the English laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal. To secure to the Roman catholic clergy, except the Regulars, the legal enjoyment of their estates, and of their tythes from all who are of their own religion. These were the chief objects of the act; but the bill received in the course of the debates (which were warm) many amendments, so as to change it very greatly from the state in which it came down from the House of Lords; but the ground-work remained the same.—It passed without a division.

The session had now stretched far into the summer. The business of it had been of as much importance as that, perhaps, of any session since the revolution. Great changes had been made in the œconomy of some of the colonies, which were thought foundations for changes of a like nature in others; and the most sanguine expectations were entertained by the ministry, that when parliament had shewn so determined a resolution, and the advocates for the colonies had appeared so very little able to protect them, the submission throughout America would be immediate; and complete obedience and tranquillity would be secured in future. The triumphs and mutual congratulations of all who supported these measures within doors and without, were unusually great. The speech from the throne at the end of the session expressed similar sentiments. His Majesty told the parliament.

“ That

“ That he had observed with the utmost satisfaction, the many eminent proofs they had given of their zealous and prudent attention to the public, during the course of this very interesting session of parliament.” Then, after mentioning with applause their proceedings relative to the gold coin, “ That the bill which they had prepared for the government of Quebec, and to which he had then given his assent, was founded on the clearest principles of justice and humanity; and would, he doubted not, have the best effects in quieting the minds and promoting the happiness of his Canadian subjects. That he had long seen with concern a dangerous spirit of resistance to his government and the execution of the laws prevailing in the province of Massachusetts Bay. It proceeded at length to such an extremity, as to render their immediate interposition necessary, and they had accordingly made provision as well for the suppression of the present disorders, as for the prevention of the like in future.” And concludes, “ With recommending the same zeal for the public welfare, which had distinguished all their proceedings in this session of parliament.”

1774.



## C H A P. IV.

*View of affairs in the Colonies, in the year 1774; shewing the general effect and operation of the late laws, &c.*

1774.

General  
effect of  
the late  
laws.

THE penal laws, which we saw passed, in the last session of the last parliament, relative to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and which were intended to operate both as a chastisement for past, and a preventative of future misdemeanours in that province, were unfortunately productive of effects very different from those which the sanguine promoters of those bills had hoped, and which administration had held out to the nation. Other purposes were expected from them besides punishment and prevention. It was expected, that the shutting up of the port of Boston would have been naturally a gratification to the neighbouring towns, from the great benefits which would accrue to them, by the splitting and removing its commerce; and that this would prove a fruitful source of jealousy and disunion within the province. It was also thought, that the particular punishment of that province would not only operate as an example of terror to the other colonies, but that from the selfishness and malignity incident to mankind, as well as from their common jealousies, they would quietly resign it to its fate, and enjoy with pleasure any benefits they could derive from its misfortunes. Thus it was hoped, that besides their direct operation, these bills would eventually prove a means of dissolving that band of union, which seemed of late too much to prevail amongst the colonies.

The act called the Military Bill, which accompanied these laws, and which was formed to support and encourage the soldiery in beating down all possible resistance to the other act, it was imagined, would compleat the design, and bring the colonies

nies to a perfect submission. In confidence of the perfection of this plan of terrors, punishments and regulations, and of the large force by sea and land (as it was then thought) which was sent to strengthen the hands of government, administration reposed in the most perfect security; and ended the session in the most triumphant manner, and with the mutual congratulations of all concerned in those acts, which we have described in our 3d chapter. 1774.

The event, in all these cases, was however very different. The neighbouring towns disdained every idea of profiting in any degree by the misfortunes of their friends in Boston. The people of the province, instead of being shaken by the coercive means which were used for their subjugation, joined the more firmly together to brave the storm; and seeing that their ancient constitution was destroyed, and that it was determined to deprive them of those rights, which they had ever been taught to revere as sacred, and to deem more valuable than life itself, they determined at all events to preserve them, or to perish in the common ruin. In the same manner, the other colonies, instead of abandoning, clung the closer to their devoted sister as the danger increased; and their affection and sympathy seemed to rise in proportion to her misfortunes and sufferings.

In a word, these bills, (as had been too truly foretold by their opposers at home) instead of answering the purposes for which they were intended, spread a general alarm from one end to the other of the continent, and became the cement of a strict and close union between all the old colonies. They said it was now visible, that charters, grants, and established usages, were no longer a protection or defence; that all rights, immunities, and civil securities, must vanish at the breath of an act of parliament. They were all sensible, that they had been guilty, in a greater or lesser degree, of those

1774.  unpardonable sins which had drawn down fire upon Boston; they believed, that vengeance, tho' delayed, was not remitted: and that all the mercy, the most favoured or the least culpable could expect, was to be the last that would be devoured.

In the last session, the minister had announced in the House of Commons, the appointment of General Gage to the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, and to the command in chief of the army in North America. As this gentleman had borne several commands with reputation in that part of the world; had lived many years there, and had sufficient opportunities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the people, and was besides well approved of by them, great hopes were formed of the happy effects which would have resulted from his administration; and it is little to be doubted, if his appointment had been at a happier time, and his government free from the necessity of enforcing measures which were generally odious to the people, but these expectations would have been answered.

Impeachment of  
Mr. Oliver.

The jealousy and ill blood between the governors and governed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, which we in the preceding chapter have taken notice of, had ever since continued. The House of Representatives had presented a petition and remonstrance to the Governor, early in the spring, for the removal of Peter Oliver, Esq; Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature, from his office; this request not being complied with, they exhibited articles of impeachment against him, of high crimes and misdemeanors, in their own name and that of the province, which they carried up to the Council-board, and gave the governor notice to attend as judge upon the trial. The charge against the Chief Justice was, the betraying of his trust, and of the chartered rights of the province, by ac-



accepting a salary from the crown, in consideration of his official services, instead of the customary grant from the House of Representatives. The resolution for carrying up this impeachment was carried by a majority of 92 to 8; from whence some judgment may be formed of the general temper of the province, and their unanimity, even in this strong and extraordinary measure.

1774.

The Governor refused to receive the articles, and totally disclaimed all authority in himself and the Council to act as a judicatory, for the trial of any crimes or misdemeanors whatever. The House of Representatives, far from giving up the matter, only changed their mode of attack; and the Governor finding that they would persist in a prosecution under some form or other, and that every new attempt would only serve to involve things in still greater difficulty, or at least to increase the animosity, thought it necessary, at the conclusion of the month of March, to dissolve the Assembly.

Assembly  
of Massachu-  
setts's  
Bay dis-  
solved.

Such was the state of things in the province of Massachusetts Bay, when Gen. Gage arrived in his government. The hopes that might have been formed upon a change of administration, and the joy that generally attends the coming of a new Governor, were, however, nipped in the bud, by the arrival just before of a ship from London, which brought a copy of the Boston Port Bill; and a Town Meeting was sitting to consider of it, at the very time he arrived in the harbour. As this fatal news was totally unexpected, the consternation which it caused among all orders of people was inexpressible. The first measure was the holding of the Town-Meeting we have mentioned, at which resolutions were passed, and ordered to be immediately transmitted to the other colonies, inviting them to enter into an agreement to stop all imports and exports to and from Great-Britain and Ireland, and every part

May 13,  
1774.  
General  
Gage ar-  
rives at  
Boston.

Great  
consternation on  
receiving  
the Bos-  
ton port  
bill.

of

1774.

of the West-Indies, until the act was repealed, as the only means (they said) that were left for the salvation of North America and her liberties. They besides expatiated on the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act, and appealed from it to God and the world.

In the mean time, copies of the act were multiplied with incredible expedition, and dispatched to every part of the continent with celerity. These had the effect which the poets ascribe to the Furies' torch, they set the countries in a flame through which they passed. At Boston and New York, the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper with a black border, which they cried about the streets under the title of a barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. In other places, great bodies of the people were called together by public advertisement, and the obnoxious law burned with great solemnity.

There was, however, a very surprising mixture of sobriety with this fury; and a degree of moderation was blended with the excess into which the people were hurried.

New Assembly  
meet at  
Boston,  
and are  
adjourned  
to Salem.

This extraordinary combustion in the minds of all ranks of the people did not prevent the Governor's being received with the usual honours at Boston. The new Assembly of the province met of course a few days after, the Council, for the last time, being chosen according to their charter. The Governor at their meeting laid nothing more before them than the common business of the province; but gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem, on the first of June, in pursuance of the late act of parliament. The Assembly, to evade this measure, were hurrying through the necessary business of the supplies with the greatest expedition, that they might then adjourn themselves to such time

time as they thought proper ; but the Governor having obtained some intelligence of their intention, adjourned them unexpectedly to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. Previous to this adjournment, they had presented a petition to the Governor, for appointing a day of general prayer and fasting, which he did not think proper to comply with.

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In the mean time, Provincial or Town-meetings were held in every part of the continent ; in which, tho' some were much more temperate than others, they all concurred in expressing the greatest disapprobation of the measures which were pursued against Boston, an abhorrence of the new act, and a condemnation of the principles on which it was founded ; with a resolution to oppose its effects in every manner, and to support their distressed brethren, who were to be the immediate victims.

Provincial and town meetings.

The House of Burgesses, of the province of Virginia, appointed the 1st of June, the day on which the Boston Port Bill took place, to be set apart for fasting, prayer, and humiliation, to implore the Divine interposition, to avert the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, with the evils of a civil war ; and to give one heart and one mind to the people, firmly to oppose every injury to the American rights. This example was either followed, or a similar resolution adopted, almost every where, and the first of June became a general day of prayer and humiliation throughout the continent.

This measure, however, procured the immediate dissolution of the Assembly of Virginia ; but before their separation, an association was entered into and signed by 89 of the members, in which they declared, that an attack made upon one colony, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack on all British America, and threatened ruin to the rights

Assembly of Virginia dissolved.



1774. rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole was applied in prevention. They therefore recommended to the committee of correspondence, to communicate with the several committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies, to meet annually in General Congress, and to deliberate on those general measures, which the united interests of America might, from time to time, render necessary. They concluded with a declaration, that a tender regard for the interests of their fellow-subjects the merchants and manufacturers of Great-Britain, prevented them from going further at that time.

Philadel-  
phia.

At Philadelphia, about 300 of the inhabitants immediately met, and appointed a committee to write to the town of Boston. Their letter was temperate, but firm. They acknowledged the difficulty of offering advice upon that sad occasion; wished first to have the sense of the province in general; observed that all lenient applications for obtaining redress should be tried before recourse was had to extremities; that it might perhaps be right to take the sense of a General Congress, before the desperate measure of putting an entire stop to commerce was adopted; and that it might be right, at any rate, to reserve that measure as the last resource, when all other means had failed. They observed, that if the making of restitution to the East India Company for their teas, would put an end to the unhappy controversy, and leave the people of Boston upon their ancient footing of constitutional liberty, it could not admit of a moment's doubt what part they should act; but it was not the value of the tea, it was the indefeasible right of giving and granting their own money, a right from which they could never recede, that was now the matter in consideration.

A Town-

A Town-meeting was also held at New-York, and a committee of correspondence appointed; but they were as yet, in general, very temperate in their conduct; and Government had a much stronger interest in that colony than in any other. The case was far different at Annapolis in Maryland, where the people of that city, though under a proprietary government, exceeded the other colonies in the violence of their resolutions; one of which was to prevent the carrying on of any suits in the courts of the province for the debts which were owing from them in Great Britain. This resolution, however, was neither adopted nor confirmed by the Provincial meeting which was held soon after; nor was it any where carried into practice.

1774.

New-York.

In general, as might have been expected in such great commercial countries, the proposal for shutting up the ports (former resolutions of this kind having been much abused for the private gain of individuals) was received with great seriousness, hesitation, and coldness; and considered as the last desperate resort, when all other means of redress should fail. In other respects, upon the arrival of the news from Boston, moderation was little thought of any where, and the behaviour of the people was nearly similar in all places. At the numberless public meetings which were held upon that occasion, throughout the continent, they passed every resolution, and adopted every measure they could for the present think of, to shew their utmost detestation of the Boston Port Bill, and to express their determination of opposing its effects in every possible manner.

In this state of general dissatisfaction, complaint, and opposition, General Gage had the temporary satisfaction of receiving an address of congratulation, signed by 127 gentlemen, merchants and inhabitants of Boston, who were either the best addicted to government, the most moderate, or to whom

Address  
from gentlemen,  
&c. of  
Boston to  
the new  
governor.

the

1774.

the present measures seemed the least obnoxious. Besides the compliments customary upon these occasions, a declaration of the strong hopes which they had founded upon the General's public and private character, and a disavowal, as to themselves, of all lawless violences, they lamented, that a discretionary power was not lodged in his hands, to restore trade to its former course, immediately, upon the terms of the late law being fully complied with; and shewed, that as the act stood at present, notwithstanding the most immediate compliance, so much time would be lost, before his favourable account of their conduct could reach the King and Council, and produce the wished for effect, as would involve them in unspeakable misery, and they feared in total ruin.

Address  
from the  
council  
rejected.

A few days after, an address from the Council was presented to the Governor, which contained some very severe reflections on his two immediate predecessors, to whose machinations, both in concert and a part, that body attributed the origin and progress of the disunion between Great-Britain and her colonies, and all the calamities that afflicted that province. They declared, that the people claimed no more than the rights of Englishmen, without diminution or abridgment; and these, as it was the indispensable duty of that board, so it should be their constant endeavour to maintain, to the utmost of their power, in perfect consistence, however, with the truest loyalty to the crown, the just prerogatives of which they would ever be zealous to support.

This address was rejected by the Governor, who would not suffer the chairman of the committee to proceed any further, when he had read the part which reflected on his predecessors. He afterwards returned an answer to the Council in writing, in which he informed them, that he could not receive

an



an address which contained indecent reflections on his predecessors, who had been tried and honourably acquitted by the Privy Council, and their conduct approved by the King. That he considered the address as an insult upon his Majesty, and the Lords of his Privy Council, and an affront to himself.

The House of Representatives, upon their meeting at Salem, passed a resolution, in which they declared the expediency of a general meeting of committees from the several colonies, and specified the purposes which rendered such meeting necessary. By another they appointed five gentlemen, of those who had been most remarkable in opposition, as a committee to represent that province. And by a third, they voted the sum of 500*l.* to the said committee, to enable them to discharge the important trust to which they were appointed.

1774.  
Transactions of the house of representatives at Salem.

As neither this appointment, nor disposal of the public money, could be at all agreeable to the Governor, he accordingly refused his concurrence to the latter; upon which the assembly passed a resolution, to recommend to the several towns and districts within the province, to raise the said 500*l.* by equitable proportions, according to the last provincial tax. A recommendation, which, at present, had all the force of a law.

The Assembly foreseeing that their dissolution was at hand, were determined to give the people a public testimony of their opinions, and under the title of recommendations to prescribe rules for their conduct, which they knew would be more punctually complied with, than the positive injunctions of laws. They accordingly passed a declaratory resolution, expressive of their sense of the state of public affairs, and of the designs of government, in which they advanced, that they, with the other American colonies,

1774. lonics, had long been struggling under the heavy hand of power; and that their dutiful petitions for the redress of intolerable grievances had not only been disregarded, but that the design totally to alter the free constitution and civil government in British America, to establish arbitrary governments, and to reduce the inhabitants to slavery, appeared more and more to be fixed and determined. They then recommended in the strongest terms to the inhabitants of the province, totally to renounce the consumption of India teas, and, as far as in them lay, to discontinue the use of all goods imported from the East-Indies and Great-Britain, until the public grievances of America should be radically and totally redressed. And the more fully to carry this essential purpose into effect, it was strongly recommended, that they should give every possible encouragement to the manufactures of America.

Though the committee, that was appointed to conduct this business, endeavoured to carry it on with the greatest privacy, the Governor, notwithstanding, obtained some intelligence of it, and on the very day upon which they made their report, he sent his Secretary to pronounce their immediate dissolution. The Secretary, upon his arrival, finding the door locked, sent the House-messenger to acquaint the Speaker, that he had a message from the Governor, and desired admittance to deliver it. The Speaker, in some time, returned for answer, that he had acquainted the House with the message, which he had received, and that their orders were to keep the door fast. Upon this refusal of admittance the Secretary caused proclamation to be made upon the stairs, of the dissolution of the General Assembly. Such was the issue of the final contest between the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, and the last Assembly which was holden in that province, upon the principles of its charter.

The assembly  
dissolved.

The

The day after the dissolution of the Assembly, a most pathetic, but at the same time firm and manly address, was presented from the merchants and freeholders of the town of Salem to the Governor. We cannot forget, that this town was now become the temporary capital of the province, in the place of Boston; and that the General Assembly, the Courts of Justice, the Custom-house, and, so far as it could be done by power, the trade of that were removed thither; so that they were already in possession of a principal share of those spoils, which it was supposed would have effectually influenced the conduct of that people, and thereby have bred such incurable envy, jealousy and animosity, between the gainers and sufferers, that the refractory capital finding herself abandoned, and being left alone to ruminate upon her forlorn situation, would soon be reclaimed, and brought to as full a sense of her duty, as of her punishment.

1774.

Address  
from the  
town of  
Salem.

Whether this opinion was founded upon a thorough knowledge of human nature in general, or took its rise from particular instances, which were extended in speculation to the whole, may perhaps, in a certain degree, be determined from the following generous sentiments of the inhabitants of Salem. They say, "We are deeply afflicted with a sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiseration; and we hope your Excellency will use your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already sorely distressed people."—"By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade may be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart. And were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to



1774. *to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."*

This whole address is remarkable for the propriety with which it is conducted, and the justness of its sentiments. They treat the governor with the highest respect, and hope much from his general character, as well as from his conduct in a former government; they express the strongest attachment to the mother country, the deepest concern for the present unhappy troubles, and the most fervent wishes for a speedy and happy reconciliation, to obtain which, they are willing to sacrifice every thing, compatible with the safety of British subjects.

The general had formed considerable hopes upon the conduct of the merchants; who he expected would have entered into the spirit of the late law, and by removing their commerce along with the Custom-house to Salem, have thereby the sooner induced the capital to the compliances which were wished by government. In these expectations he was disappointed. It is probable, that the merchants thought it fit and necessary to keep fair with government, and in general disapproved of all violences; but it seems evident, that they did not enter heartily into the new measures. It seems also probable, that he believed the friends of the system of government now adopted, to be stronger and more numerous than they really were. An experiment was however made, which set this matter in a clear light. The friends of government attended a town-meeting at Boston, and attempted to pass resolutions for the payment of the tea, and for dissolving the committee of correspondence; but they found themselves lost in a prodigious majority; and had no other resource, than the drawing up of a protest against the proceedings of that assembly.

In

In the mean time, rough-draughts of the two remaining bills relative to the province of Massachusetts's Bay, as well as of that for quartering the troops in America, all of which were in agitation in England, at the time that the last ships sailed from thence, were received, and immediately circulated throughout the continent. The knowledge of these bills, filled up whatever was wanting before, of violence and indignation in most of the colonies. Even those who were moderate, or seemed wavering, now became sanguine. The idea of shutting up the ports, became common language, and to be considered as a matter of necessity. Nothing was to be heard of but meetings and resolutions. Liberal contributions for the relief of their distressed brethren in Boston, were every where recommended, and soon reduced into practice. Numberless letters were written from towns, districts, and provinces, to the people of Boston, in which, besides every expression of sympathy and tenderness, they were highly flattered for their past conduct, and strongly exhorted to a perseverance in that virtue, which brought on their sufferings.

1774.

General  
temper  
and dis-  
position  
of the  
people  
through-  
out the  
continent

The people of America at this time, with respect to political opinions, might in general be divided into two great classes. Of these, one was for rushing headlong into the greatest extremities; they would put an immediate stop to trade, without waiting till other measures were tried, or receiving the general sense of the colonies upon a subject of such alarming importance; and though they were eager for the holding of a congress, they would leave it nothing to do, but to prosecute the violences which they had begun. The other, if less numerous, was not less respectable, and though more moderate, were perhaps equally firm. These were averse to any violent measures being adopted until all means were ineffectually tried; they wished further applications to be made to Great Britain; and the

1774. the grievances they complained of, with the rights which they claimed, to be clearly stated, and properly presented. This, they said, could only be done effectually by a general congress, as in any other manner it might be liable to the objection of being only the act of a few men, or of a particular colony. We, however, acknowledge a third party, which were the friends to the administration in England, or more properly, those who did not totally disapprove of its measures; but their still small voice was so low, that except in a few particular places, it could scarcely be distinguished.

Solemn  
league  
and cove-  
nant.

The more violent, who had not patience to wait for the result of a Congress, entered into other measures. An agreement was framed by the committee of Correspondence at Boston, which they entitled —“*a solemn league and covenant*,” wherein the subscribers bound themselves in the most solemn manner, and in the presence of God, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, from the last day of the ensuing month of August, until the Boston Port-bill, and the other late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts Bay fully restored to its chartered rights. They also bound themselves in the same manner, not to consume, or to purchase from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived after the specified time, and to break off all commerce, trade and dealings, with any who did, as well as with the importers of such goods. They renounced in the same manner, all future intercourse and connection with those who should refuse to subscribe to that Covenant, or to bind themselves by some similar agreement, with the dangerous penalty annexed, of having their names published to the world.

The Covenant, accompanied with a letter from the committee at Boston, was circulated with the usual activity, and the people, not only in the New England



land governments, but in the other provinces, entered into this new league with the greatest eagerness. It seems, however, that similar agreements had been entered into about the same time, in various parts of the continent, and without any previous concert with each other, any more than with those at Boston. 1774.

General Gage was much alarmed at this proceeding; to which its name, as well as its tendency, might possibly contribute. He accordingly published a strong proclamation against it, in which it was styled an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination, contrary to the allegiance due to the King, destructive of the lawful authority of the British parliament, and of the peace, good order, and safety of the community. All persons were warned against incurring the pains and penalties due to such aggravations and dangerous offences, and all magistrates charged to apprehend and secure for trial, such as should have any share in the publishing, subscribing, aiding, or abetting the foregoing, or any similar covenant.

June 29,  
Proclamation against it.

This proclamation had no other effect than to exercise the pens and the judgment of those who were versed in legal knowledge, by endeavouring to shew, that the association did not come within any of the treason-laws, and that the charges made by the governor, were consequently erroneous, unjust, and highly injurious. They said he had assumed a power, which the constitution denied even to the sovereign, the power of making those things to be treason, which were not considered as such by the laws; that the people had a right to assemble to consider of their common grievances, and to form associations for their general conduct towards the remedy of those grievances; and that the proclamation was equally arbitray, odious, and illegal.

Mea-

1774.

Measures  
relative  
to the  
holding  
of a  
general  
congress.

Measures were now every where taken for the holding of a general congress; and Philadelphia, from the convenience of its situation, as well as its security, was fixed upon as the place, and the beginning of Sept. the time, for meeting. Where an assembly happened to be sitting, as in the case of Massachusetts-Bay, they appointed deputies to represent the province in the Congress. But as this happened to be the case in very few instances, the general method was, for the people to elect their usual number of representatives, and these, at a general meeting, chose deputies among themselves; the number of which, in general, bore some proportion to the extent and importance of the province; two being the least, and seven the greatest number, that represented any colony. But whatever the number of representatives were, each colony had no more than a single vote.

Resolutions  
passed in  
different  
places.

July 15.

At these county and provincial meetings, a number of resolutions were constantly passed, among which a declaration that the Boston Port-act was oppressive, unjust, and unconstitutional in its principles, and dangerous to the liberties of America, was always among the foremost. At Philadelphia, a petition, signed by near 900 freeholders, was presented to Mr. Penn, the Governor, intreating him to call a general assembly as soon as possible. This request being refused, the province proceeded to the election of deputies, who soon after met at Philadelphia. As the resolutions passed at this meeting, carry more the marks of cool and temperate deliberation, as well as of affection to the mother country, than those of many others, and are at the same time equally firm in the determination of supporting what they thought their rights, we shall be the more particular in our notice of them.

They set out with the strongest professions of duty and allegiance to the Sovereign, which could be

be well devised; and declare their abhorrence of every idea, of an unconstitutional independence on the parent state; upon which account, they say, that they view the late differences between Great Britain and the colonists, with the deepest distress and anxiety of mind, as fruitless to her, grievous to them, and destructive to the best interests of both. They then, after expressing the most ardent wishes for a restoration of the former harmony, declare that the colonists are entitled to the same rights and liberties within the colonies, that the subjects born in England are within that realm.

They reprobate, in the strongest terms, the late bills relative to the province of Massachusetts Bay, and declare, that they consider their brethren at Boston, as suffering in the common cause of all the colonies. They also declare, the absolute necessity of a CONGRESS, to consult together, and to form a general plan of conduct to be observed by all the colonies, for the purposes of procuring relief for their suffering brethren, obtaining redress of their general grievances, preventing future dissensions, firmly establishing their rights, and the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and her colonies upon a constitutional foundation.

They acknowledge, that a suspension of the commerce of that large trading province with Great Britain, would greatly distress multitudes of their industrious inhabitants; but declare that they are ready to offer that sacrifice, and a much greater, for the preservation of their liberties; that, however, in regard to the people of Great Britain, as well as of their own country, and in hopes that their just remonstrances might at length have effect, it was their earnest desire, that the Congress should first try the gentle mode of stating their grievances, and making a firm and decent claim of redress.

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1774.

They conclude with warning dealers not to raise the price of their merchandize beyond the usual rates, on account of any resolutions that might be taken with respect to importation ; and by a declaration, that, that province would break off all dealing and commercial intercourse whatsoever, with any town, city or colony on the continent, or with any individuals in them, who should refuse, decline, or neglect to adopt and carry into execution such general plan as should be agreed upon in the Congress.

Aug. 1st.

At a meeting of delegates of the several counties of Virginia at Williamsburgh, which lasted for six days, besides professions of allegiance and loyalty, of regard and affection for their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, equally strongly expressed with those which we have mentioned, and several resolutions in common with the other colonies, they passed others which were peculiar, and considering the state and circumstances of that province, with its immediate dependence on the mother-country for the disposal of its only staple commodity, must be considered very deserving of attention, because strongly indicating the true spirit of that people.

Among these, they resolved not to purchase any more slaves from Africa, the West-Indies, or any other place ; that their *non-importation agreement* (which had been early entered into) should take place on the first of the following November ; — that if the American grievances were not redressed by the 10th of August 1775, they would export, after that time, no tobacco, or any other goods whatever, to Great-Britain ; and to render this last resolution the more effectual, they strongly recommended the cultivation of such articles of husbandry, instead of tobacco, as may form a proper basis for manufactures of all sorts ; and particularly to improve the breed of their sheep, to multiply them,

them, and to kill as few of them as possible. They also resolved to declare those enemies to their country, who should break through the Non-importation resolution. The people of Maryland, the other great tobacco colony, were not behind hand with those of Virginia in their determinations; and the two Carolinas, whose existence seemed to depend upon their exportation, were by no means among the least violent. 1774.

Thus the Boston Port-bill and its companions, had even exceeded the prognostications of their most violent opponents. They had raised a flame from one end to the other of the continent of America, and united all the old colonies in one common cause. A similar language was every where held; or if there was any difference in the language, the measures that were adopted were every where directed to the same object. They all agreed in the main points, of holding a Congress, of not submitting to the payment of any internal taxes, that were not, as usual, imposed by their own assemblies, and of suspending all commerce with the mother-country, untill the American grievances in general, and those of Massachusetts Bay in particular, were fully redressed.

The people, as is always the case, were, from circumstances or temper, more or less violent in different places; but the resolution as to the great object of debate, the point of *taxation*, was every where the same, and the most moderate, even at New-York, seemed determined to endure any evils, rather than submit to that. At Newport, in Rhode Island, the flame burned higher than in some other places; an inflammatory paper was there published, with a motto in capitals,—JOIN OR DIE;—in this piece the state of Boston was represented as a siege, and as a direct and hostile invasion of all the colonies; “the generals of despotism, (it says) are  
“ now

1774.

“ now drawing the lines of circumvallation around  
“ our bulwarks of liberty ; and nothing but unity,  
“ resolution, and perseverance can save ourselves  
“ and our posterity from what is worse than death,  
“ —*slavery.*”

What rendered this state of affairs the more dangerous, was, that it did not arise from the discontent of a turbulent or oppressed nobility, where, by bringing over a few of the leaders, the rest must follow of course, or persist only to their ruin ; nor did it depend upon the resolution or perseverance of a body of merchants and dealers, where every man, habitually studious of his immediate interest, would tremble at the thought of those consequences, which might essentially affect it ; and where a few lucrative jobs or contracts, properly applied, would split them into numberless factions ; on the contrary, in this instance, the great force of the opposition to government, consisted in the land-holders throughout America. The British lands, in that vast continent, are generally portioned out in numberless small freeholds, and afford that mediocrity of condition to the possessors, which is sufficient to raise strong bodies and vigorous minds ; but seldom that superabundance, which proves so fatal to both in old and refined countries. The American freeholders, at present, are nearly, in point of condition, what the English yeomen were of old, when they rendered us formidable to all Europe, and our name celebrated throughout the world. The former, from many obvious circumstances, are more enthusiastical lovers of liberty, than even our yeomen were. Such a body was too numerous to be bribed, and too bold to be despised without great danger.

In this untoward state of public affairs, General Gage had the consolation to receive a congratulatory address from the Justices of the Peace of Plymouth



mouth county, assembled at their general sessions, 1774. in which, besides the customary compliments, they expressed great concern at seeing that the inhabitants of some towns, influenced by certain persons, calling themselves committees of correspondence, and encouraged by some, whose business it was, as preachers of the Gospel, to inculcate principles of loyalty, and obedience to the laws, entering into a league, calculated to increase the displeasure of the sovereign, to exasperate the parent country, and to interrupt the harmony of society. A protest was also passed by several gentlemen of the county of Worcester, against all riotous disorders, and seditious practices. These efforts had however no other effect, than probably to lead the governor as well as administration into an erroneous opinion, as to the strength and number of the friends of government in that province.

Address  
from the  
justices  
of Ply-  
mouth  
county.

Though liberal contributions were raised in the different colonies for the relief of the suffering inhabitants of Boston; yet it may be easily conceived, that in a town, containing above 20,000 inhabitants, who had always subsisted by commerce, and the several trades and kinds of business subservient to it, and where the maintenance of numberless families depend merely upon locality, the cutting off that grand source of their employment and subsistence, must, notwithstanding any temporary relief, occasion great and numerous distresses. Even the rich were not exempt from this general calamity, as a very great part of their property consisted in wharfs, ware-houses, sheds, and all those numerous erections, which are destined to the purposes of commerce in a great trading port, and were no longer of any value.

They, however, bore their misfortunes with a wonderful constancy, and met with a general sympathy and tenderness, which much confirmed their reso-

1774.

their resolution. Their neighbours, the merchants and inhabitants of the town and port of Marblehead, who were among those that were to profit the most by their ruin, instead of endeavouring to reap the fruits of their calamity, sent them a generous offer of the use of their stores and wharfs, of attending to the lading and unlading of their goods, and of transacting all the business they should do at their port, without putting them to the smallest expence; but they at the same time exhorted them to persevere in that patience and resolution, which had ever been their characteristic.

Uneasiness excited by the arrival of the troops.

Soon after the General's arrival in his government, two regiments of foot, with a small detachment of the artillery, and some cannon, were landed at Boston, and encamped on the common, which lies within the Peninsula on which the town stands. These troops were by degrees reinforced by the arrival of several regiments from Ireland, New-York, Halifax, and at length from Quebec. It may be easily conceived, that the arrival and station of these troops, was far from being agreeable to the inhabitants; nor was the jealousy in any degree less, in the minds of their neighbours of the surrounding counties. This dissatisfaction was further increased by the placing of a guard at Boston Neck; (which is the narrow isthmus that joins the Peninsula to the continent), a measure of which the frequent desertion of the soldiers was either the cause, or the pretext.

False alarm.

In this state, a trifling circumstance gave the people of Boston a full earnest of the support they might expect from the country in case of extremity and an opportunity of knowing the general temper of the people. A report had been spread, perhaps industriously, that a regiment posted at the Neck had cut off all communication with the country, in order to starve the town into a compliance with any mea-

measures that might be proposed to them. Upon this vague report, a large body of the inhabitants of the county of Worcester immediately assembled, and dispatched two messengers express to Boston, to discover the truth of the intelligence. These envoys informed the town, that if the report had been true, there were several thousand armed men, ready to have marched to their assistance; and told them further, that they were commissioned to acquaint them, that even though they might be disposed to a surrender of their liberties, the people of the country would not think themselves at all included in their act. That by the late acts of the British parliament, and the bills which were pending therein, when the last intelligence was received, their charter was utterly vacated; and that the compact between Great-Britain and the colony being thus dissolved, they were at full liberty to combine together in what manner and form they thought best for mutual security.

1774.

Not long after the governor issued a proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality. This proclamation, which was avowedly in imitation of that issued by his Majesty upon his accession, seems, like most acts of government about this time, to have been wrong placed, and ill-timed. The people of that province had always been scoffed at, and reproached by their enemies, as well as by those of looser manners, for a pharisaical attention to outward forms, and to the appearances of religious piety and virtue. It is scarcely worth an observation, that neither proclamations or laws can reach farther than external appearances. But in this proclamation "Hypocrisy" being inserted among the immoralities, against which the people were warned, it seemed as if an act of state were turned into a libel on the people; and this

Proclamations for the encouragement of piety and virtue, &c.



1774.

this insult exasperated greatly the rage of minds already sufficiently discontented.

New  
counsellors  
chosen.

Along with the new laws, which did not arrive till the beginning of August, Governor Gage received a list of 36 new counsellors, who in conformity to the new regulations of them, were appointed by the crown, contrary to the method prescribed by the charter, of their being chosen by the representatives in each assembly. Of these gentlemen, about 24 accepted the office, which was a sufficient number to carry on the business of government, until a fresh nomination should arrive for filling up the vacancies.

Hostile  
appearances.

Matters were now, however, unfortunately tending to that crisis, which was to put an end to all established government in the province. The people in the different counties became every day more outrageous, and every thing bore the semblance of resistance and war; in Berkshire and Worcester counties in particular, nothing was to be seen or heard of, but the purchasing and providing of arms, the procuring of ammunition, the casting of balls, and all those other preparations, which testify the most immediate danger, and determined resistance. All those, who accepted of offices under the new laws, or prepared to act in conformity with them, were every where declared to be enemies to their country, and threatened with all the consequences due to such a character. The people of Connecticut, looking upon the fate of their neighbouring colony to be only a prelude to their own, even exceeded them in violence.

New  
judges  
incapable  
of acting.

The new judges were rendered every where incapable of proceeding in their office. Upon opening the courts, the great and petty juries throughout the whole province, unanimously refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner, under the new judges,

judges, and the new laws. The acting otherwise was deemed so heinous, that the clerks of the courts found it nécessaire to acknowledge their contrition in the public papers, for issuing the warrants by which the juries were summoned to attend, and not only to declare, that let the consequences be what they may, they would not act so again; but that, they had not considered what they were, doing, and that if their countrymen should forgive them, they could never forgive themselves for the fault they had committed. At Great Barrington, and some other places, the people assembled in numerous bodies, and filled the court-house and avenues in such a manner, that neither the judges nor their officers could obtain entrance; and upon the sherriſſ's commanding them to make way for the court; they answered. that they knew no court, nor other establishment, independent of the ancient laws and usages of their country, and to none other would they submit, or give way upon any terms.

1774.

The new counsellors were still more unfortunate than the judges. Their houses were surrounded by great bodies of the people, who soon discovered by their countenance and temper, that they had no other alternative than to submit to a renunciation of their offices, or to suffer all the fury of an enraged populace. Most of them submitted to the former condition; some had the fortune to be in Boston, and thereby evaded the danger, while others, with great risque, were pursued and hunted in their escape thither, with threats of destruction to their houses and estates.

New  
counsellors  
compelled to  
renounce  
their offices.

The old constitution being taken away by act of parliament, and the new one being rejected by the people, an end was put to all forms of law and government in the province of Massachusetts Bay; and the people were reduced to that state of anarchy, in which mankind are supposed to have existed

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1774. in the earliest ages. The degree of order, however, which, by the general concurrence of the people, was preserved in this state of anarchy, will for ever excite the astonishment of mankind, and continue among the strongest proofs of the efficacy of long established habits, and of a constant submission to laws. Excepting the general opposition to a new government, and the excesses arising from it, in the outrages offered to particular persons who were upon that account obnoxious to the people, no other very considerable marks appeared of the cessation of law or of government.

Fortifica-  
tion on  
Boston  
Neck.

In the mean time, General Gage thought it necessary, for the safety of the troops, as well as to secure the important post and town of Boston, to fortify the neck of land, which afforded the only communication, except by water, between that town and the continent. This measure, however necessary, could not but increase the jealousy, suspicion, and ill blood, which were already so prevalent; but was soon succeeded by another, that still excited a greater alarm. The season of the year was now arrived for the annual muster of the militia; and the general, having probably some suspicion of their conduct when assembled, or, as they pretended, being urged thereunto by those secret advisers and tale-bearers, to whose insidious arts, and false information, for a long time past, as well as the present, the Americans attributed all their own calamities, and the troubles that had arisen between both countries; however it was, he seized upon the ammunition and stores, which were lodged in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge, and had them brought to Boston. He also, at the same time, seized upon the powder which was lodged in the magazines at Charles-Town, and some other places, being partly private property, and partly provincial.

Provinci-  
al maga-  
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This excited the most violent and universal ferment that had yet been known. The people assembled to the amount of several thousands, and it was with the greatest difficulty, that some of the more moderate and leading gentlemen of the country were able to restrain them from marching directly to Boston, there to demand a delivery of the powder and stores, and in case of refusal to attack the troops. A false report having been intentionally spread, about the same time, and extended to Connecticut, in order, probably, to try the temper of that province, that the ships and troops had attacked the town of Boston, and were then firing upon it, when the pretended bearers of the news had come away, several thousands of those people immediately assembled in arms, and marched, with great expedition, a considerable distance, to the relief, as they supposed, of their suffering neighbours, before they were convinced of the mistake.

1774.

The people in a violent ferment.

About this time, the governor's company of cadets, consisting wholly of gentlemen of Boston, and of such, in general, as had always been well affected to government, disbanded themselves and returned to the general the standard, with which, according to custom, he had presented them upon his arrival. This slight to the governor, and apparent disrelish to the new government, proceeded immediately from his having taken away Mr. Hancock's commission, who was the colonel of that corps. A Colonel Murray of the militia, having accepted a seat in the new council, 24 officers of his regiment resigned their commissions in one day; so general was the spirit which was now gone forth.

Company of cadets disbanded themselves, & returned the standard.

The late measure of seizing the powder, as well as the fortifications which were erecting on Boston-neck, occasioned the holding of an assembly of delegates, from all the towns of the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the county town and capital.

In

1774. In this assembly a great number of resolutions were passed, some of which militated more strongly with the authority of the new legislature, than any that had yet appeared. They are, however, introduced by a declaration of allegiance; but they also declare it to be their duty, by all lawful means to defend their civil and religious rights and liberties; that the late acts are gross infractions of those rights; and that no obedience is due from that province to either, or any part of those acts; but that they ought to be rejected as the wicked attempts of an abandoned administration to establish a despotic government. They engaged that the county should support and bear harmless all sheriffs, jurors, and other persons who should suffer prosecution for not acting under the present unconstitutional judges, or carrying into execution any orders of their courts; and resolved, that those who had accepted seats at the council-board, had violated the duty they owed to their country; and that if they did not vacate them within a short limited time they should be considered as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to their country.

Sundry  
resolutions  
passed by the  
delegates  
of the  
county of  
Suffolk.

They also passed resolutions against the fortifications at Boston-neck; the Quebec bill; for the suspension of commerce; for the encouragement of arts and manufactures; for the holding of a provincial congress; and to pay all due respect and submission to the measures which should be recommended by the Continental Congress. They recommended to the people to perfect themselves in the art of war; and for that purpose, that the militia should appear under arms once every week. That, as it had been reported, that several gentlemen who had rendered themselves conspicuous by contending for the violated rights of their country, were to be apprehended, in case so audacious a measure should be carried into execution, they recommend, that all the officers of so tyrannical a government, should be

be seized, and kept in safe custody, until the former were restored to their friends and families. 1774.

Then followed a recommendation, which, in the present state of things, amounted to a peremptory command, to the collectors of the taxes, and all other receivers and holders of the public money, not to pay it as usual to the treasurer; but to detain it in their hands, until the civil government of the province was placed on a constitutional foundation; or until it should be otherwise ordered by the Provincial Congress. They, however, declare, that notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which they most sensibly feel and resent, they are determined to act merely on the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason, and the principles of self-preservation. They conclude by exhorting the people to restrain their resentments, to avoid all riots and disorderly proceedings, as being destructive of all good government; and by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince their enemies, that in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, *their conduct should be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free, of every age, and of every country.*

They then appointed a committee to wait upon Sept. 9th. the governor, with a remonstrance against the fortifying of Boston-neck; in which they declare, that Remon- though the loyal people of that country think them- strance. selves oppressed by some late acts of the British parliament, and are resolved, by *divine assistance*, never to submit to them, they have no inclination to commence war with his Majesty's troops. They impute the present extraordinary ferment in the minds of people, besides the new fortification, to the seizing of the powder, to the planting of cannon on the Neck, and to the insults and abuse offered to passengers by the soldiers, in which, they say, they



1774.

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they have been encouraged by some of the officers ; and conclude, by declaring, that nothing less than a removal or redress of those grievances, can place the inhabitants of the county in that situation of peace and tranquility, which every free subject ought to enjoy. In this address they totally disclaimed every wish and idea of independency, and attributed all the present troubles to misinformation at home, and the sinister designs of particular persons.

Answer.

To this address General Gage answered, that he had no intention to prevent the free egress and regress of any person to and from the town of Boston ; that he would suffer none under his command to injure the person or property of any of his Majesty's subjects ; but that it was his duty to preserve the peace, and to prevent surprize ; and that no use would be made of the cannon, unless their hostile proceedings should render it necessary.

Writs for holding a general assembly countermanded by proclamation.

Before public affairs had arrived at their present alarming state, the governor, by the advice of the new council, had issued writs for the holding of a general assembly, which was to meet in the beginning of October ; but the events that afterwards took place, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, together with the resignation of so great a number of the new mandamus counsellors, as deprived the small remainder of all efficacy, made him think it expedient to countermand the writs by a proclamation, and to defer the holding of the assembly to a fitter season. The legality of this proclamation was called in question, and the elections every where took place without regard to it. The new members accordingly met at Salem, pursuant to the precepts ; but having waited a day, without the governor, or any substitute for him attending, to administer the oaths, and open the session, they voted themselves into a provincial Congress, to be joined by such others as had been, or should

Oct. 11th

The representatives meet notwithstanding

should be elected for that purpose; after which Mr. Hancock, so obnoxious to the governor's party, was chosen chairman, and they adjourned to the town of Concord, about twenty miles from Boston.

1774.

at Salem;
vote
them-
selves in-
to a pro-
vincial
congress,
and ad-
journ to
the town
of Con-
cord.

Among their earliest proceedings, they appointed a committee to wait upon the governor with a remonstrance, in which they apologized for their present meeting, by representing, that the distressed and miserable state of the colony, had rendered it indispensably necessary to collect the wisdom of the province by their delegates in that Congress; thereby to concert some adequate remedy to prevent impending ruin, to provide for the public safety. They then express the grievous apprehensions of the people from the measures now pursuing. They assert, that even the rigour of the Boston port bill is exceeded, by the manner in which it was carried into execution. They complain of the late laws, calculated not only to abridge the people of their rights, but to license murders; of the number of troops in the capital, which were daily increasing by new accessions drawn from every part of the continent; together with the formidable and hostile preparations at Boston-neck; all tending to endanger the lives, liberties, and properties, not only of the people of Boston, but of the province in general. They conclude by adjuring the general, as he regards his Majesty's honour and interest, the dignity and happiness of the empire, and the peace and welfare of the province, to desist immediately from the construction of the fortress at the entrance into Boston, and to restore that pass to its natural state.

Remon-
strance
from the
provinci-
al con-
gress;

The general was involved in some difficulty in giving them an answer, as he could not acknowledge the legality of their assembling. The necessity of the times however prevailed. He expressed great indignation that an idea should be formed, that the lives, liberties or property of any people, except

Gover-
nor's an-
swer.

1774.

except avowed enemies, should be in danger from English troops.—Britain, he said, could never harbour the black design of wantonly destroying or enslaving any people ; and notwithstanding the enmity shewn to the troops, by withholding from them almost every necessary for their preservation, they had not yet discovered the resentment which might justly be expected to arise from such hostile treatment. He reminded the Congress, that while they complain of alterations made in their charter by acts of parliament, they are themselves, by their present assembling, subverting that charter, and now acting in direct violation of their own constitution ; he therefore warned them of the rocks they were upon, and to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings. By this time Boston was become the place of refuge to all those friends of the new government, who thought it necessary to persevere in avowing their sentiments. The commissioners of the customs, with all their officers, had also thought it necessary, towards the conclusion of the preceding month, to abandon their head-quarters at Salem, and to remove the apparatus of a custom-house, to a place which an act of parliament had proscribed from all trade. Thus the new acts of parliament on one hand, and the resistance of the people on the other, equally joined to annihilate all appearance of government, legislation, judicial proceedings, and commercial regulations.

Upon the approach of winter, the general had ordered temporary barracks to be erected for the troops, partly perhaps, for safety, and partly to prevent the disorders and mischiefs, which, in the present state and temper of both, must be the unavoidable consequences of their being quartered upon the inhabitants. Such, however, was the dislike to their being provided for in any manner, that the select-men and the committees obliged the workmen to quit their employment, though the money for

for their labour would have been paid by the crown. The general had as little success in endeavouring to procure carpenters from New-York, so that it was with the greatest difficulty he could get those temporary lodgments erected; and having endeavoured also to procure some winter covering from the latter city, the offer to purchase it was presented to every merchant there, who to a man refused complying with any part of the order, and returned for answer, "That they never would supply any article for the benefit of men who were sent as enemies to their country."

1774.

Every thing now tended to increase the mutual apprehension, distrust, and animosity between government and the people. Those of Boston, either were, or pretended to be, under continual terror, from the apprehensions of immediate danger, to their properties, liberties, and even their lives. They were in the hands of an armed force, whom they abhorred, and who equally detested them. The soldiers, on the other hand, considered themselves in the midst of enemies, and were equally apprehensive of danger from within and without. Each side professed the best intentions in the world for itself, and shewed the greatest suspicion of the other. In this state of doubt and profession, things were rendered still worse, by a measure, which did not seem of sufficient importance in its consequences, to justify its being hazarded at so critical a season. This was the landing of a detachment of sailors by night, from the ships of war in the harbour, who spiked up all the cannon upon one of the principal batteries belonging to the town.

State of
affairs at
Boston.

In the mean time the Provincial Congress, notwithstanding the cautions given, and dangers held out by the governor, not only continued their assembly, but their resolutions having acquired, from the disposition and promptitude of the people, all the weight

Further
proceed-
ings of
the pro-
vincial
congress.

1774.



weight and efficacy of laws, they seemed to have founded in effect something like a new and independent government. Under the style of recommendation and advice, they settled the militia; and regulated the public treasures; and they provided arms. They appointed a day of public thanksgiving, on which, among the other enumerated blessings, a particular acknowledgment was to be made to the Almighty, for the union which so remarkably prevailed in all the colonies.

Nov. 10.

Proclamation.

These and similar measures, induced General Gage to issue a proclamation, in which, tho' the direct terms are avoided, they are charged with proceedings, which are generally understood as nearly tantamount to treason and rebellion. The inhabitants of the province were accordingly, in the king's name, prohibited from complying, in any degree, with the requisitions, recommendations, directions, or resolves of that unlawful assembly.

CHAP. V.

Resolutions of the General Congress, held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September, 1774.

DURING these transactions in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, the twelve old colonies, including that whole extent of continent which stretches from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, had appointed deputies to attend the General Congress, which was held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September 1774. Such was the unhappy effect of the measures pursued, perhaps somewhat too avowedly, and for that reason the less wisely, for reducing America by division, that those twelve colonies, clashing in interests, frequently quarrelling about boundaries and many other subjects, differing in manners, customs, religion, and forms of government, with all the local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions, incident to neighbouring states, were now led to assemble by their delegates in a general diet, and taught to feel their weight and importance in a common union. Whatever may be the event, it was undoubtedly a dangerous experiment to bring matters to this crisis.

1774.
Sept. 5th.

General
Congress
held at
Philadel-
phia.

Several of the colonies had given instructions to their deputies previous to their meeting in congress. In general, they contained the strongest professions of loyalty and allegiance; of affection for the mother country; of constitutional dependence on her; and of gratitude for benefits already received in that state. They totally disclaimed every idea of independence, or of seeking a separation; acknowledged the prerogatives of the crown, and declared their readiness and willingness to support them with life and fortune, so far as they are warranted by the constitution. The Pennsylvanians, in particular, declare that they view the present contests with the deepest

Previous
instruc-
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1774.

deepest concern; that perpetual love and union, an interchange of good offices, without the least infraction of mutual rights, ought ever to subsist between the mother country and them.

On the other hand, they were unanimous in declaring, that they never would give up those rights and liberties which, as they say, descended to them from their ancestors, and which, they say, they were bound by all laws, human and divine, to transmit whole and pure to their posterity; that they are entitled to all the rights and liberties of British-born subjects; that the power lately assumed by parliament is unjust; and the only cause of all the present uneasiness; and that the late acts respecting the capital and province of Massachusetts-Bay, are unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous.

The instructions, however, of the several colonies that pursued that mode, differed considerably from each other. In some great violence appeared. Others were more reasonable. In some nothing was spoken of but their grievances. Others proposed likewise terms on their part to be offered to Great Britain. Such as an obedience to all the trade laws passed, or to be passed, except such as were specified; and the settling an annual revenue on the crown for public purposes, and disposable by parliament. The deputies however were instructed, that in these and all other points, they were to coincide with the majority of the Congress. This majority was to be determined by reckoning the colonies, as having each a vote, without regard to the number of deputies which it should send.

The debates and proceedings of the Congress were conducted with the greatest secrecy, nor have any parts of them yet transpired, but those which they thought proper to lay before the public.

The

The number of delegates amounted to 51, who represented the several English colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina.

'1774.

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The first public act of the Congress was a declaratory resolution expressive of their disposition with respect to the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, and immediately intended to confirm and encourage that people. In this they expressed, in the most pathetic terms, how deeply they felt the sufferings of their country-men in that province, under the operation, they said, of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British parliament; they thoroughly approved of the wisdom and fortitude with which their opposition to these ministerial measures had hitherto been conducted, as well as of the resolutions passed, and measures proposed, by the delegates of the county of Suffolk; and earnestly recommended a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct, according to the determinations of that assembly. This was immediately published, and transmitted to that province, accompanied with an unanimous resolution, That contributions from all the colonies for supplying the necessities, and alleviating the distresses of their brethren at Boston, ought to be continued in such manner, and so long, as their occasions may require.

Sept. 17.

Acts of  
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the pro-  
vince of  
Massa-  
chusetts  
Bay.

By the subsequent resolutions of the Congress, they not only formally approve of the opposition made by that province to the late acts; but further declare, that if it should be attempted to be carried into execution by force, all America should support it in that opposition.—That if it be found absolutely necessary to remove the people of Boston into the country, all America should contribute towards

Resoluti-  
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ed by the  
county of  
Suffolk.Resolu-  
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1774.

recompensing them for the injury they might thereby sustain.—They recommended to the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay, to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice, as it cannot be procured in a legal manner under the rules of the charter, until the effect of the application of the Congress for a repeal of those acts, by which their charter rights are infringed, is known.—And that every person who shall accept, or act under, any commission or authority, derived from the late act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of that province, ought to be held in detestation, and considered as the wicked tool of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights, which God, Nature, and Compact, hath given to America. They besides recommended to the people of Boston and Massachusetts-Bay, still to conduct themselves peaceably towards the general, and the troops stationed at Boston, so far as it could possibly consist with their present safety; but that they should firmly persevere in the defensive line of conduct which they are now pursuing. The latter part of this instruction evidently alluded to and implied an approbation of the late resolutions of the county of Suffolk, relative to the militia, and to the arming of the people in general. The Congress conclude by a resolution, that the transporting, or attempting to transport any person beyond the sea, for the trial of offences committed in America, being against law, will justify, and ought to meet with resistance and reprisal.

Letter to  
G. Gage.

These resolutions being passed, the Congress wrote a letter to General Gage, in which, after repeating the complaints which had been before repeatedly made by the town of Boston, and by the delegates of different counties in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, they declare the determined resolution of the colonies, to unite for the preservation of their common rights, in opposition to the late



1774.

late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of that province are oppressed: that, in consequence of their sentiments upon that subject, the colonies had appointed them the guardians of their rights and liberties, and that they felt the deepest concern, that, whilst they were pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great-Britain and the colonies, his excellency should proceed in a manner that bore so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive acts did not warrant. They represented the tendency this conduct must have to irritate and force a people, however well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities, which might prevent the endeavours of the Congress to restore a good understanding with the parent state, and involve them in the horrors of a Civil War. In order to prevent these evils, and the people from being driven to a state of desperation, being fully persuaded of their pacific disposition towards the king's troops, if they could be assured of their own safety, they intreated, that the general would discontinue the fortifications in Boston, prevent any further invasions of private property, restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and give orders that the communications between the town and country should be open, unmolested, and free.

The Congress also published a *Declaration of Rights*, to which, they say, the English colonies of North-America are entitled, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts. In the first of these are life, liberty, and property, a right to the disposal of any of which, without their consent, they had never ceded to any sovereign power whatever. That their ancestors, at the time of their migration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities, of free and natural born subjects; and that

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1774. by such emigration, they neither forfeited, surrendered, nor lost, any of those rights. They then state, that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; and proceed to shew, that as the colonies are not, and, from various causes, cannot be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such a manner as had been heretofore used and accustomed.

In order to qualify the extent of this demand of legislative power in their assemblies, which might seem to leave no means of parliamentary interference for holding the colonies to the mother country, they declare that from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, they cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.

They also resolved, that the colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and, more especially, to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have by experience found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances. That they are likewise entitled to all the immunities and

and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws. That they have a right to assemble peaceably, consider of their grievances, and petition the king for redress; and that all prosecutions, and prohibitory proclamations for so doing, are illegal. That the keeping of a standing army, in times of peace, in any colony, without the consent of its legislature, is contrary to law. That it is essential to the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature should be independent of each other; that therefore, the exercise of legislative power, by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, is unconstitutional, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

They declared in behalf of themselves and their constituents, that they claimed, and insisted on the foregoing articles, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which could not be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures. They then enumerated the parts, or the whole, of *eleven* acts of parliament which had been passed in the present reign, and which they declared to be infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them was essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and them. Among the acts of parliament thus reprobated, was the Quebec bill, which had already been the cause of so much discussion at home, and which they termed, "An act for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there;" to the great danger (as they asserted) from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government, of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of—  
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1774. whose blood and treasure that country was conquered from France.

After specifying their rights, and enumerating their grievances, they declared, that to obtain redress of the latter, which threatened destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of the people of North-America, a non-importation, non-consumption, and non exportation, agreement, would prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure; —they accordingly entered into an association, by which they bound themselves, and of course their constituents, to the strict observance of the following articles. —1. That after the first of the following December, they would import no British goods or merchandize whatsoever, nor any East India tea, from any part of the world; nor any of the products of the British West-India Islands; nor wines from Madeira or the Western islands; nor — 2. foreign indigo. —2. That, after that day, they would wholly discontinue the slave trade, and neither hire vessels, nor sell commodities or manufactures to any concerned in that trade. —3. That — 3. from the present date, they will use no tea on which a duty had been or shall be paid; nor after the first of March ensuing, any East-India tea whatever, nor any British goods, imported after the first of December, except such as come under the rules and directions which we shall see in the 10th article. — 4. —4. By this article, the non-exportation agreement is suspended to the 10th of September, 1775; after which day, if the acts of parliament which they had before recited are not repealed, all exportation is to cease, except that of rice, to Europe. — 5. —5. The *British* merchants are exhorted not to ship goods in violation of this association, under penalty of never holding any commercial intercourse with those that act otherwise. —6. Owners of ships are warned to give such orders to their captains, as will effectually prevent their receiving any

any of those goods that are prohibited.—7. They agree to improve the breed of sheep, and to increase their number, to the greatest possible extent.—8. This article tends to encourage frugality, œconomy, and industry; to promote agriculture, arts, and manufactures; to discountenance all expensive shows, games and entertainments; to lessen the expences of funerals; to discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs, and the wearing of any other mourning than a piece of crape or ribbon.—9. Venders of goods are to sell them at the usual prices, without taking any advantage of the present situation of affairs.—10. This article seems in a certain degree to soften the rigour of the first, and permits a conditional importation for two months longer, at the option of the owner; who, if he will deliver up any goods that he imports before the 1st. Feb. to the committee of the place that they arrive at, they are to be sold under their inspection, and the prime cost being returned to the importer, the profits are to be applied to the relief of the sufferers at Boston. All goods that arrive after that day, to be sent back without landing, or breaking any of the packages.—The three following articles, relative to the appointing of committees, to prevent any violation of the foregoing, and to publish the names of the violaters in the Gazette, as foes to the rights, and enemies to the liberty of British America; they also regulate the sale of domestic manufactures, that they may be disposed of at reasonable prices, and no undue advantages taken of a future scarcity of goods.—By the 14th and last article, any colony or province, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate the association, is branded as inimical to the liberties of their country; and all dealings or intercourse whatever with such colony is interdicted.

This association was subscribed by all the members of the congress; and the foregoing resolutions were

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were marked, *nemine contradicente*. They afterwards resolved, that a congress should be held in the same place, on the 10th day of the following May, unless the redress of grievances, which they have desired, should be obtained before that time; and they recommended to all the colonies to chuse deputies, as soon as possible, for that purpose. They also, in their own names, and in the behalf of all those whom they represented, declared their most grateful acknowledgments, to those truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who had so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament.

Petition  
to the  
King.

They then proceeded to frame a petition to his Majesty; a memorial to the people of Great Britain; an address to the colonies in general; and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. The petition to his Majesty contained an enumeration of their grievances; among which are the following, *viz.* The keeping of a standing army in the colonies in the time of peace, without the consent of the assemblies; and the employing of that army, and of a naval force, to enforce the payment of taxes.—The authority of the commander in chief, and of the brigadiers general, being rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.—The commander in chief of the forces, in time of peace, appointed governor of a colony—The charges of usual offices greatly increased; and new, expensive, and oppressive offices, multiplied.—The judges of the admiralty courts impowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves, and the officers of the customs to break open and enter houses, without the authority of the civil magistrate.—The judges rendered intirely dependent on the crown for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.—Counsellors, who exercise legislative authority, holding



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ing their commissions during pleasure.—Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people fruitless.—The agents of the people discountenanced, and instructions given to prevent the payment of their salaries; assemblies repeatedly and injuriously dissolved; commerce burthened with useless and oppressive restrictions.

They then enumerate the several acts of parliament passed in the present reign for the purpose of raising a revenue in the colonies, and of extending the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits; whereby their property is taken from them without their consent, the trial by jury, in many civil cases abolished, enormous forfeitures incurred for slight offences; vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

They complain of the parliamentary vote for reviving the statute of the 35th Henry VIIIth, and extending its influence to the colonists; and of the statute of the 12th of his present Majesty, whereby the inhabitants of the colonies may, in sundry cases, by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage. They then recite the three acts of the preceding session, relative to Boston and the province of Massachusetts-Bay; the Quebec act, and the act for providing quarters for the troops in North America.

The petition repeatedly contains the strongest expressions of loyalty, of affectionate attachment and duty to the sovereign, of love and veneration for the parent state; they attributed these their sentiments to the liberties they inherited from their ancestors, and the constitution under which they were bred; while the necessity which compelled  
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1774. was the apology for delivering them.—They at the same time promised themselves a favourable reception and hearing from a sovereign, whose illustrious family owed their empire to similar principles.

They declare, that from the destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears and jealousies, which overwhelm the colonies with affliction; and they defy their most subtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between G. Britain and them from an earlier period, or from other causes than they have assigned. That they ask but for peace, liberty, and safety; they wish not for a diminution of the prerogative, nor do they solicit the grant of any new right in their favour; the royal authority over them, and their connection with Great Britain, they shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain. That, “appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they solemnly profess, that their councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending destruction.”

They conclude by imploring his Majesty, in the name of all America, and a solemn adjuration by all that is sacred and awful, that,—“for his glory, which can be advanced only by rendering his subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of his family, depending in an adherence to the principle that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of his kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that, as the loving father of his whole people, connected by the same bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, he will not suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties, to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects, which, if attained, never can compensate

penstate for the calamities through which they must be gained."

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"This petition was subscribed by all the delegates.

In the memorial to the people of this country, they pay the highest praise to the noble and generous virtues of their and our common ancestors; but they do it in a manner, that instead of reflecting any comparative honour on the present generation in this island, rather reproaches us with a shameful degeneracy. They afterwards say, that born to the same rights, liberties, and constitution, transmitted to them from the same ancestors, guarantied to them by the plighted faith of government, and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns, it is no wonder they should refuse to surrender them to men, whose claims are not founded on any principles of reason, "and who prosecute them with a design, "that, by having their lives and property in their "power, they might with the greatest facility en- "slave us."—They complain of being oppressed, abused, and misrepresented; and say, that the duty they owe to themselves and to their posterity, to our interest, and to the general welfare of the British empire, leads them to address us on this very important subject.

Memo-  
rial to  
the peo-  
ple of G.  
Britain.

After complaining of grievances in the style and substance of the petition, they recall the happy state of the empire on both sides of the Atlantic, previous to the conclusion of the late war; and state the advantages which we derived, and to which they willingly submitted, from the system of colony government then pursued; they say, they looked up to us as to their parent state, to which they were bound by the strongest ties; and were happy in being instrumental to our prosperity and grandeur. They call upon ourselves to witness their loyalty and attachment to the common interests of the whole empire:



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empire: their efforts in the last war: their embarking to meet disease and death in foreign and inhospitable climates, to promote the success of our arms; and our own acknowledgments of their zeal, and our even reimbursing them large sums of money, which we confessed they had advanced beyond their proportion, and far beyond their abilities.

They ask to what causes they are to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery, which was prepared for them at the restoration of peace; they trace the history of taxation from that time, and assert, that those exactions, instead of being applied to any useful purpose, either for this country or that, have been lavishly squandered upon court favourites and ministerial dependants; that they ever were, and ever shall be ready to provide for the necessary support of their own government; and whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, they shall, as they have heretofore done, cheerfully contribute their full proportion of men and money.

They then proceed to state and examine the measures and the several acts of parliament, which they consider as hostile to America, and subversive of their rights; or, in their words, the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving them.—They represent the probable consequences to this country of a perseverance in that scheme, even supposing it attended with success; addition to the national debt; increase of taxes; and a diminution of commerce, must attend it in the progress; and if we are at length victorious, in what condition shall we then be? What advantages, or what laurels shall we reap from such a conquest?

They artfully endeavour to render theirs a cause common to both countries, by shewing that such  
success

success would, in the event, be as fatal to the liberties of England as to those of America. 1774.  They accordingly put the question, May not a minister with the same armies that subdued them enslave us? If to this it be answered, that we will cease to pay those armies, they pretend to shew, that America, reduced to such a situation, would afford abundant resources both of men and money for the purpose \*, nor should we have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of them, they should refuse to assist in reducing us to the same abject state.—In a word, (they say) “Take care that “you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us.”,

After denying the several charges, of being seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency, all of which they assert to be calumnies; they, however, declare, that if we are determined, that our ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind †, if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain our hands from the shedding human blood in such an impious cause, they must tell us,—“That “they never will submit to be hewers of wood, or “drawers of water, for any ministry or nation in “the world.”

They afterwards make a proposal, which it were much to be wished had been more attended to, as it affords at least no unfavourable basis for negotiation

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\* If there is any truth in this, all their former representations of the poverty of their condition, must have been egregiously false.

† It may not be improper here to remark, that the ministers accused by the Congress of sporting with the rights of mankind, as we learn from their complaints, are not only the present ministry under Lord North, but those under the Hon. George Grenville, those under the Marquis of Rockingham, and those under the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Chatham.

1774.  tion.—“Place us,” say they, “in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and “our former harmony will be restored.”

They conclude this memorial, by expressing the deepest regret for the resolution they were obliged to enter into for the suspension of commerce, as a measure detrimental to numbers of their fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and Ireland; they account and apologize for this conduct, by the over-ruling principles of self-preservation; by the supineness and inattention to our common interest, which we had shewn for several years; and by the attempt of the ministry, to influence a submission to their measures by destroying the trade of Boston. “The like fate,” they say, “may befall us all; we will endeavour, therefore, to live without trade, and recur for subsistence to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us all the necessaries, and some of the conveniences of life.” They finally rest their hopes of a restoration of that harmony, friendship, and fraternal affection, between all the inhabitants of his Majesty’s kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true American, upon the magnanimity and justice of the British nation, in furnishing a parliament of such wisdom, independency, and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked ministers and evil counsellors, whether in or out of office.

Address  
to the in-  
habitants  
of Cana-  
da.

Of all the papers published by the American congress, their address to the French inhabitants of Canada discovers the most able method of application to the temper and passions of the parties, whom they endeavour to gain.—They state the right they had, upon their becoming English subjects, to the inestimable benefits of the English constitution; that this right was further confirmed by the royal proclamation in the year 1763, plighting the public faith



faith for their full enjoyment of those advantages. They impute to succeeding ministers an audacious and cruel abuse of royal authority, in withholding from them the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which they were thus justly entitled.—That as they have lived to see the unexpected time, when ministers of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations, and as the Canadians, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of that, from which they are debarred, the congress think it their duty, for weighty reasons, to explain to them some of its most important branches.

1774.  


They then quote passages on government from the Marquis Beccari and their countryman Montesquieu \*, the latter of whom they artfully adopt as a judge, and an irrefragable authority upon this occasion, and proceed to specify and explain, under several distinct heads, the principal rights to which the people are entitled by the English constitution; and these rights they truly say, defend the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors.

They state, that without these rights, a people cannot be free and happy; and that under their protecting and encouraging influence, the English colonies

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\* The political liberty of the subject, according to Montesquieu, is a *tranquillity of mind*, arising from the opinion each person has of his *safety*. In order to possess this liberty, he observes, it is requisite the government be so constituted, that no one man be *afraid* of another; and his exemplification of this idea, as well as the maxim, is evidently borrowed from the English constitution; but excellent as the English constitution is, who can doubt but *political liberty*, or that *tranquillity of mind*, which arises from an opinion of personal safety, may exist under another form of government?

1774. nies had hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. And, that these are the rights which a profligate ministry are now striving by force of arms to ravish from themselves; and which they are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with their lives.

They again remind the Canadians that they are entitled to these rights, and ought at this moment to be in the perfect exercise of them. They then ask, what is offered to them by the late act of parliament in their place? And from thence proceed to a severe examination of the Quebec act; in which they attempt to shew, that it does not afford them, and has not left them a civil right or security of any kind; as every thing it seems to grant, and even the laws they possessed before, are liable to be altered and varied, and new laws or ordinances made, by a governor and council appointed by the crown, and consequently, wholly dependent on, and removeable at the will of a minister in England; so that all the powers of legislation, as well as that of granting and applying the public supplies, and disposing of their own property, being thus totally out of the hands and controul of the people, they are liable to the most abject slavery, and to live under the most despotic government in the universe.

After pretending to point out numberless deformities in that law, and placing them in such points of view, as were sufficient to render it odious to mankind, as well as hideous to the Canadians, they represent, as an insult added to their injuries, the hopes upon which, they said, it had been founded by the minister; he expecting, that through an invincible stupidity in them, and a total inability of comprehending the tendency of a law, which so materially affected their dearest interests, they should in the excess of a mistaken gratitude, take up arms, and incur the ridicule and detestation of the world,  
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by becoming willing tools in his hands, to assist in subverting the rights and liberties of the other colonies; without their being capable of seeing, that the unavoidable consequences of such an attempt, if successful, would be the extinction of all hopes to themselves and their posterity of being ever restored to freedom; "For idiocy itself, (say they) cannot believe, that, when their drugery is performed, they will treat you with less cruelty than they have us, who are of the same blood with themselves."

They again apply to their passions, and partiality for their countrymen, by calling up the venerable Montesquieu, and desiring them to apply those maxims, sanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to their own state; they suppose him alive, and consulted by the Canadians as to the part they should act in their present situation. They are told (after expatiating on the subject of freedom and slavery) that they are only a small people, compared with their numerous and powerful neighbours, who with open arms invite them into a fellowship; to seize the opportunity in their favour, which is not the work of man, but presented by Providence itself; that it does not admit of a question, whether it is more for their interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North America their unalterable friends, or their inveterate enemies; that as nature had joined their countries, let them also join their political interests; that they have been conquered into liberty, if they act as they ought; but that their doing otherwise will be attended with irremediable evils\*.

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\* After such an artful, and inflammatory address, it is surprizing that the Congress should ever have the effrontery either to avow allegiance to Great Britain, or to disclaim their ambitious purpose of independency. This address, exclusive of every other circumstance, and of the proofs arising from their subsequent conduct, is of itself sufficient to put such a purpose beyond a doubt.



1774.

They endeavour to obviate the jealousies and prejudices which might arise from the difference of their religious principles, by instancing the case of the Swiss cantons, whose union is composed of Catholic and Protestant states; who live in the utmost concord and peace with each other, and have been thereby enabled to defeat all attempts against their liberties. This instance, though perhaps the most apposite that could have been brought for the purpose, would not, however, have borne the test of much examination.

They declare, that they do not require them to commence acts of hostility against the government of their common sovereign; that they only invite them to consult their own glory and welfare, and not to suffer themselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous ministers so far, as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism. They conclude by informing them, that the congress had, with universal pleasure, and by a unanimous vote, resolved, that they should consider the violation of their rights, by the act for altering the government of that province, as a violation of their own; and that they should be invited to accede to their confederation, which had no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great-Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles before mentioned.

Address  
to the  
Colonies.

In the address to the colonies they inform them, that as in duty and justice bound, they have deliberately, dispassionately, and impartially examined and considered all the measures that led to the present disturbances; the exertions of both the legislative and executive powers of Great Britain, on the one hand, and the conduct of the colonies on the

the other. That upon the whole, they find themselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative, of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those they wish to revere. In making their choice of these distressing difficulties, they prefer the course dictated by honesty, and a regard to the welfare of their country.

1774.  
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After stating and examining the several laws that were passed, and the measures pursued with respect to America, from the year 1764, to the present period, (1774), they enquire into the motives for the particular hostility carried on against the town of Boston, and province of Massachusetts Bay, though the behaviour of the people in other colonies, had been in equal opposition to the power assumed by parliament, and yet no step whatever had been taken against any of them by government. This they represent as an artful systematic line of conduct, concealing among others the following designs: 1st, That it was expected, that the province of Massachusetts would be irritated into some violent action, that might displease the rest of the continent, or that might induce the people of England to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated ministry. If the unexampled pacific temper of the province should disappoint that part of the plan, it was in that case hoped, that the other colonies would be so far intimidated, as to desert their brethren, suffering in a common cause, and that thus disunited, all might be easily subdued.

After examining the Quebec act, and pretending to assign the motives on which it was founded, they say, that from this detail of facts, as well as from authentic intelligence, it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and now is carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of the colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

They

1774.

They then proceed to state the importance of the trust which was reposed in them, and the manner in which they have discharged it. Upon this occasion, they say, that tho' the state of the colonies would certainly justify other measures than those which they have advised; yet they have, for weighty reasons, given the preference to those which they have adopted. These reasons are, that it is consistent with the character which the colonies have always sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and imminent dangers that surround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore they were induced to offer once more to his Majesty the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America.—Then from a sense of their tender affection for the people of the kingdom from which they derive their original, they could not forbear to regulate their steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction that the colonists are equally dear to them. That they ardently wish the social band between that body and the colonies may never be dissolved; and that it cannot, until the minds of the former shall become indisputably hostile, or their inattention shall permit those who are thus hostile to persist in prosecuting, with the powers of the realm, the destructive measures already operating against the colonists; and, in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every guard but that of self-preservation.—That, notwithstanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point; that they do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; and they have chosen a method of opposition that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with their fellow citizens on the other side of the Atlantic.

That, they deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses them to an immediate interruption of
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commerce, which may prove injurious to their fellow-subjects in England; but trust they will acquit them of any unkind intentions, by reflecting that they subject themselves to similar inconveniencies; that they are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions; and that they are contending for freedom, so often contended for by their ancestors.

1774.

They conclude by observing, that the people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning their cause. "That in their piety, generosity, and good sense, they repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded that they, the defenders of true religion, and the assertors of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant brethren in the colonies, in favour of their open and our own secret enemies, whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundation of all civil and religious liberty."

These public acts being passed, the delegates put an end to their session, on the 52d day from the opening of the congress.

The Congress
breaks up
Oct. 26th

Without examining the truth of their allegations, or pretending to form any opinion upon a subject, on which the first names in this country have differed so widely, it must be acknowledged, that the petition and addresses from the congress have been executed with uncommon energy, address, and ability; and that considered abstractedly, with respect to vigour of mind, strength of sentiment, and the language, at least of patriotism, they would not have disgraced any assembly that ever existed.

C H A P. VI.

State of Affairs at the opening of the new parliament, with some account of the two Fishery Bills passed in this session.

1774.

State of
affairs
previous
to the
dissolu-
tion of
Parlia-
ment.

WHILST matters of this magnitude were transacting in America, an unexampled supineness, with regard to public affairs, prevailed among the great body of the people. Even the great commercial and manufacturing bodies, who must be the first to feel, and the last to lament any sinister events in the colonies, and who are generally remarkable for a quick foresight and provident sagacity in whatever regards their interest, seemed now to be sunk in the same carelessness and inattention with the rest of the people.

Several causes concurred to produce this apparent indifference. The colony contests were no longer new. From the year 1765, they had, with but few, and those short intermissions, engaged the attention of parliament. Most of the topics on the subject were exhausted, and the vehement passions which accompanied them had subsided. The non-impotation agreement, (by divisions within the colonies, which, if not caused, were much forwarded by the concessions with regard to several of the taxes laid in 1767) had broken up, before it had produced any serious consequences. Most people therefore flattered themselves, that as things had appeared so very frequently at the verge of a rupture, without actually arriving at it, that now, as formerly, some means would be found for accommodating this dispute. At worst it was conceived, that the Americans would themselves grow tired. And as an opinion was circulated with some industry and success, that a countenance of resolution, if persevered in for some time, would certainly put an end to the contest, which (it was said) had been nourished wholly

wholly by former concessions, people were in general inclined to leave the trial of the effects of perseverance and resolution, to a ministry who valued themselves on those qualities. All these things had hitherto indisposed the body of the nation from taking part in the sanguine manner they had hitherto done on other subjects, and formerly on this. From these causes, administration being totally disengaged at home, was at full leisure to prosecute the measures which it had designed against America, or to adopt such new ones, as the opposition there rendered necessary towards carrying the new laws into execution. The times indeed were highly favourable to any purpose, which only required the concurrence of that parliament, and the acquiescence of the people.

1774.

Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances on the one side, and that general indifference which prevailed on the other, it was not totally forgotten by either, that the time for a general election was approaching, and that the parliament had but one session more to compleat its allotted term.

On the meeting of this new parliament, Sir Fletcher Norton, was, without opposition, appointed Speaker. In the speech from the throne, the two houses were informed, that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law still unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and had, in divers parts of it, broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; that these proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in others of the colonies, and unwarrantable attempts made to obstruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations; that such measures had been taken, and such orders given, as were judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were passed in the last session of the late parliament, for the protection and security

Nov. 30.

The new

Parlia-

ment

meets.

Speech

from the

throne.

1774. of commerce, and for restoring and preserving peace, order, and good government, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay; that they might depend upon a firm and stedfast resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this legislature over all the dominions of the crown, the maintenance of which was considered as essential to the dignity, the safety, and welfare of the British empire; his Majesty being assured of receiving their assistance and support while acting upon these principles.

Address. An address, in the usual form, having been moved for, an amendment was proposed, on the side of opposition, "That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to communicate the whole intelligence he had received from America to the house, as well as the letters, orders, and instructions, upon that business." The proposal for this amendment was productive of some considerable debate, as well as of a division. The minority was but 13 to 63 on the division. It was rendered memorable by the circumstance of having produced a protest, the first we remember to have heard of upon an address, and that too very strong and pointed.

Amendment proposed.

Debates.

Protest.

The answer from the throne to this address, besides the usual thanks, contained an assurance of taking the most speedy and effectual measures, for enforcing due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature; together with a declaration, that whenever any of the colonies should make a proper and dutiful application, his Majesty would be ready to concur in affording them every just and reasonable indulgence; and concluded with an earnest wish, that this disposition might have an happy effect on their temper and conduct.

This answer was accompanied with a message to the Commons, in which they were informed, that

as it was determined, in consequence of the address, to take the most speedy and effectual measures for supporting the just rights of the crown, and the two houses of parliament, some augmentation to the forces by sea and land would be necessary for that purpose. This message was referred, as usual, to the committee of supply.

1774.

Message
from the
throne
for an
augmen-
tation of
the for-
ces.

While measures were thus taking to apply a military force to the cure of the disorders in America, other means were thought necessary to come in aid of this expedient. The military force might indeed coerce and punish the disobedient, and effectually support the magistrate in case of insurrection; but how to get the body of magistracy to act, or any sufficient number upon ordinary occasions to engage heartily in their cause, did not appear. The change in the charter of Massachusetts-Bay had not produced the desired effect. Even if it should, the inferior magistrates must evidently be taken in the country; sheriffs, constables, select men, grand and petty juries, must be aiding to the higher magistrates, or nothing could be done; and the idea of having troops in every parish would be ridiculous. The coercive plan being therefore still relied on, it was proposed to chuse a punishment so universal, as by the inconveniences which every man felt, would interest every man in procuring obedience and submission to the late acts of parliament. For this reason the minister moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts-Bay, and New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode island, and Providence Plantation, in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time.

Feb. 10,
1775.

Fishery
bill
brought
in.

On

1775.

The bill
returned,
with the
amend-
ment to
the Com-
mons.

They
object
to the
amend-
ment.

The bill
receives
the royal
assent.

On the 21 of March, upon the third reading of this bill, a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, should be included in the same restrictions with the New-England provinces. On this amendment the question being put, it was carried by 52 to 21; and the prohibitions of the bill consequently extended to the five new provinces. The question was then put upon the bill, and carried by a majority of 73 to 21; and it was accordingly returned to the Commons with the amendment; but this house objecting to it, as causing a disagreement between the title and body of the bill, (which would have caused great embarrassment to the officers who were to carry it into execution) a conference was held, in a few days after, between the two Houses, at which the reasons offered by the Commons, having appeared satisfactory, the Lords agreed in rejecting the amendment; and the bill received the royal assent on the 30th of March.

Protest.

This bill was productive of a protest signed by sixteen lords. Among other severe strictures, they represented it as one of those unhappy inventions, to which parliament is driven by the difficulties that daily multiply upon them, from an obstinate adherence to an unwise system of government. They say, that government which attempts to preserve its authority by destroying the trade of its subjects, and by involving the innocent and guilty in a common ruin, if it acts from a choice of such means, confesses itself unworthy; if from inability to find any other, admits itself wholly incompetent to the end of its institution. They severely censure the attempt made to bribe the nation into an acquiescence in this arbitrary act, by holding out to them, as a temptation for that purpose, the spoils of the New-England fishery; this they represent to be a scheme full of weakness and indecency; of in-
dececy,

decency, because it may be suspected that the desire of the confiscation has created the guilt; and of weakness, because it supposes, that whatever is taken from the colonies, is of course to be transferred to ourselves. 1775.

The Fishery-bill had scarcely cleared the House of Commons, when the minister brought in another, "To restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies, under certain conditions and limitations." As measures of this nature were now familiar, he only thought it necessary to observe, that as the southern provinces had acceded to the non-importation and non-exportation agreement, as well as the northern, it was conformable to reason and justice that they should equally feel our resentment, and experience the same degree of punishment. The matter of this bill, being formerly discussed, the debate at the third reading was not long, nor the attendance considerable on the part of the minority. The bill passed without difficulty. Mar. 9th. Another Fishery-bill. Apr. 5th.

During the passing of these two additional American bills, several conciliatory ones were offered by Lord Chatham, and other lords in the minority; also petitions from the city of London and several manufacturing towns in Great-Britain and Ireland.

Some counter petitions were also received, calling for an enforcement of the laws of Great-Britain as the only means of preserving a trade with the colonies, and asserting that the trade hitherto had suffered none, or an inconsiderable diminution by the combination of the Americans. Much altercation arose on the truth of facts alledged on both sides, as well as on the manner of obtaining the signatures, and the quality of those who signed. The minority

1774.

ty insisted, and the most who signed these *war petitions* (as they called them) were persons of none or a remoter interest in the American trade; but of that description of warm and active party-men commonly called Tories.—To prove the truth of the former part of their assertion, they entered into several examinations, which produced many long and hot debates.

The coercive plan for subjugating America being thus finished, this remarkable session was closed by a speech from the Speaker to his Majesty, stating the heaviness of the grants, (the Money-bills which had just received the royal assent) which nothing but the particular exigencies of the times could justify in a season of profound peace; he, however, gave an assurance, that if the Americans should persist in their resolutions, and the sword must be drawn, his faithful Commons would do everything in their power to maintain and support the supremacy of this legislature, and concluded, that the money now raised, should be faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was appropriated.

May 26.

In the speech from the throne, the most perfect satisfaction in their conduct, during the course of this important session, was expressed. It was said, that they had maintained, with a firm and steady resolution, the rights of the crown and the authority of parliament, which should ever be considered as inseparable; that they had protected and promoted the commercial interests of these kingdoms; and they had, at the same time, given convincing proofs of their readiness (as far as the constitution would allow them) to gratify the wishes, and remove the apprehensions of the subjects in America.

C H A P. VII.

*State of affairs in America during the sitting of Parliament.—
Continued from the breaking up of the general Congress, in
Oct. 26, 1774, to the re-assembling of that body in May 10,
1775.*

DURING these transactions at home, affairs 1774.
were every day becoming more dangerous
in America. Whatever hesitation might before
have operated with the timid, or principles of cau-
tion and prudence with the moderate, they were now
all removed by the determinations of the general
congress. These became immediately the political
creed of the colonies, and a perfect compliance
with their resolutions was every where determined
upon, as soon as the general sense of the people
could be obtained. The unanimity which prevailed
throughout the continent was amazing. The same
language was held by town and provincial meetings,
by general assemblies, by judges in their charges,
and by grand juries in their presentments; and all
their acts tended to the same point. It was a new
and wonderful thing to see the inhabitants of rich
and great commercial countries, who had acquired
a long established habitual relish for the superfluities
and luxuries of foreign nations, all at once determined
to abandon those captivating allurements, and to
restrain themselves to bare necessities. It was scarcely
an object of greater admiration, that the merchant
should forego the advantages of commerce, the
farmer submit to the loss of the sale of his products
and the benefits of his industry, and the seaman,
with the numberless other persons dependant upon
trade, contentedly resign the very means of livelihood,
and trust to a precarious subsistence from the public
spirit or charity of the opulent. Such however was
the spectacle, which America at that time, and still
in some degree, exhibited to the world.

1774.

Great hopes were however placed on the success of the petition from the continental congress to the throne. Nor was it supposed, that their general application to the people of England would have been unproductive of effect. A still greater reliance was not unreasonably placed upon the effect which the unanimity and determinations of the congress would produce, in influencing the public opinions and measures at home.

Warlike
prepara-
tions.

These hopes and opinions had for a time a considerable effect in restraining those violences which afterwards took place. But however well they might seem to be founded, and however general their operation, the principal leaders, and most experienced men, did not appear to build much upon them, and accordingly made some preparations for the worst that might happen. The Southern colonies began to arm as well as the Northern, and to train and exercise their militia; and as soon as advice was received of the proclamation issued in England to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to America, measures were speedily taken to remedy the defect. For this purpose, and to render themselves as independent as possible of foreigners for the supply of those essential articles, mills were erected, and manufactories formed both in Philadelphia and Virginia, for the making of gunpowder, and encouragement given in all the colonies for the fabrication of arms of every sort. Great difficulties however attended these beginnings; and the supply of powder, both from the home manufacture and the importation, was for a long time scanty and precarious.

The Governor's proclamation against the provincial congress in Massachusetts Bay, had not the smallest effect, either upon the proceedings of that assembly, or the conduct of the people, who paid an implicit obedience to its determinations. As

ex-

expresses continually passed between that body and the general congress, no doubt can be entertained, that its measures were regulated by their opinion. The critical situation of the capital was an object of much consideration; nor was it easy to determine in what manner to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, and to prevent its becoming a sore thorn in the side of the province, if matters should proceed to extremity. From its natural advantages of situation, with the works thrown up on the Neck, Boston was already become a very strong hold; and was capable, with little difficulty, of being rendered a place of such strength, as, under the protection of a navy, would leave but little hope of its being ever reduced. From the same causes it was liable to be converted, at the discretion of the Governor, into a secure prison for the inhabitants, who would thereby become hostages for the conduct of the province at large.

Different proposals were said to be made to prevent or remedy these evils. One was, simply, to remove the inhabitants; another to set a valuation upon their estates, burn the town, and reimburse them for their losses. Both these schemes were found to be clogged with so many difficulties as rendered them impracticable. Force was the only expedient which could be applied with success; but they did not as yet seem disposed to proceed to that extremity. In the mean time, numbers of the principal inhabitants quitted the town, under the real or pretended apprehension of immediate violence from the troops, or of being kidnapped and sent to England, to stand trial for supposed offences.

The provincial congress, having done all the business that was thought proper or necessary for the present, dissolved themselves towards the end of November, having first appointed another meeting to be held in the ensuing month of February.

This

1774.

This cessation afforded an opportunity to the friends of government, or loyalists, as they now called themselves, to shew themselves in a few places; to try their strength and numbers, and to endeavour to resist the general current. Some associations for mutual defence were accordingly formed, and a refusal was made, in a few towns, to comply with the resolutions of the provincial congress; but the contrary spirit was so prevalent, that those attempts were soon quelled. The dissentients were overwhelmed by numbers. All these attempts came to nothing.

*Ordnance
seized in
Rhode
Island.*

As soon as an account was received at Rhode Island, of the prohibition on the exportation of military stores from Great-Britain, the people seized upon and removed all the ordnance belonging to the crown in that province, which lay upon some batteries that defended one of the harbours, and amounted to above forty pieces of cannon of different sizes. A captain of a man of war, having waited upon the governor to enquire into the meaning of this procedure, was informed, with great frankness, that the people had seized the cannon to prevent their falling into the hands of the king's forces; and that they meant to make use of them to defend themselves against any power that should offer to molest them. The assembly of that island also passed resolutions for the procuring of arms and military stores, by every means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained, as well as for training and arming the inhabitants.

The province of New Hampshire had hitherto preserved a greater degree of moderation than any other of the New England governments. As soon, however, as intelligence arrived of the transactions at Rhode Island, with a copy of their resolutions, and of the royal proclamation which gave rise to them, a similar spirit operated upon that people.

A

A body of men accordingly assembled in arms, and marched to the attack of a small fort, called William and Mary, considerable only for being the object of the first movement in the province. This was easily taken, and supplied them with a quantity of powder, by which they were enabled to put themselves into a state of defence.

1774.
A fort taken, & powder seized in New Hampshire.

No other acts of extraordinary violence took place during the winter. A firm determination of resistance, was, however, universally spread, and grew the stronger by the arrival of the King's speech, and the addresses of the new parliament; which seemed, in the opinion of the Americans, nearly to cut off all hopes of reconciliation. It is remarkable that all the acts and public declarations, which here were recommended as the means of pacifying, by intimidating that people, constantly produced the contrary effect. The more clearly a determination was shewn to enforce an high authority, the more strenuously the colonists seemed determined to resist it. The assembly of Pennsylvania, which met by adjournment towards the close of the year, was the first legal convention which unanimously approved of and ratified all the acts of the general congress, and appointed delegates to represent them in the new congress, which was to be held in the ensuing month of May.

The proceedings were similar in other places, whether transacted by the assemblies, or by provincial conventions of deputies. The convention of Maryland appointed a sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition. A provincial convention, which was held at Philadelphia in the latter end of January, passed a number of resolutions for the encouragement of the most necessary manufactures within themselves; among which, salt, gunpowder, saltpetre, and steel, were particularly recommended. They also passed a resolution, in which

Resolutions of the G. C. approved of in different places.

1774.



which they declared it to be their most earnest wish and desire to see harmony restored between Great-Britain and the colonies; and that they would exert their utmost endeavours for the attainment of that most desirable object. But that if the humble and loyal petition of the congress to his Majesty should be disregarded, and the British administration, instead of redressing their grievances should determine by force to effect a submission to the late arbitrary acts of parliament, in such a situation they hold it their indispensable duty to resist such force, and at every hazard to defend the rights and liberties of America.

Rejected
at New-
York.

The assembly of New-York, which met in the beginning of the year, was, however, a single exception to the rest of the continent. In this assembly, after very considerable debates upon the question of acceding to the resolutions of the general congress, it was rejected upon a division, though by a very small majority. They afterwards proceeded to state the public grievances, with an intention of laying them before the king and parliament; a mode of application in which they were much encouraged by the lieutenant-governor, and from which they presaged the happiest effects, flattering themselves, that when all other means had failed of success, they should have the lasting honour of procuring a thorough reconciliation between the mother-country and the colonies: a hope, however fruitless, which probably had a great effect in their late determination. It was also said, that this method had been suggested to them from authority in England. They accordingly drew up that petition to the king, memorial to the lords, and representation and remonstrance to the commons, the inefficacy of which we have already seen.

Feb. 1st.

The new provincial congress, which met at Cambridge, in Massachusetts-Bay, did not deviate from
the

the line which had been chalked out by their predecessors. Among other resolutions they published one, to inform the people, that from the present disposition of the British ministry and parliament, there was real cause to fear, that the reasonable and just applications of that continent to Great-Britain for peace, liberty, and safety, would not meet with a favourable reception; but, on the contrary, from the large reinforcement of troops expected in that colony, the tenor of intelligence from Great-Britain, and general appearances, they have reason to apprehend, that the sudden destruction of that colony in particular was intended, for refusing, with the other American colonies, tamely to submit to, what they termed, the most ignominious slavery.

1774.
Proceedings of the new provincial Congress in Massachusetts Bay.

They therefore urged, in the strongest terms, the militia in general, and the minute men in particular, to spare neither time, pains, nor expence, at so critical a juncture, in perfecting themselves forthwith in military discipline. They passed other resolutions for the providing and making of fire arms and bayonets; and renewed more strictly the prohibition of their predecessors, against supplying the troops at Boston with any of those necessaries which are peculiarly requisite for the military service; the markets at Boston being still open to the supply of provisions. As we have made use of a term which has hitherto been unknown in military transactions, it may require some explanation. By *minute men* are to be understood a select number of militia, who undertake to hold themselves upon all occasions, and at the shortest notice, in readiness for actual service. By their alertness they have since shewn that the name was not misapplied.

A circular letter from the secretary of state for the American department, forbidding, in the King's name, and under pain of his displeasure, the election of deputies for the ensuing general congress, was

1774.

was productive of no manner of effect; the elections every where took place, even in the province of New-York, notwithstanding the late resolution in their assembly.

Things continued very quiet at Boston. To which the injunctions of the different congresses perhaps contributed as much, as the ships of war that crowded the harbour, or the force that was stationed in the town. The calm was however precarious and fallacious on both sides. Combustible matter had been gathered in abundance. More was in preparation, and the least spark was likely to kindle a general conflagration.

Feb. 26.

Detach-
ments.
sent to
seize on
some
cannon at
Salem.

Dispute
at a draw
bridge.

Governor Gage having received intelligence that some brass cannon were deposited in the town of Salem, sent a detachment of troops under the command of a field officer, on board a transport, in order to seize upon and bring them to Boston. The troops having landed at Marblehead, proceeded to Salem, where they were disappointed as to finding the cannon; but having some reason to imagine they had been only removed that morning in consequence of their approach, it induced them to march further into the country in hopes of overtaking them. In this pursuit they arrived at a draw-bridge over a small river, where a number of the country people were assembled, and those on the opposite side had taken up the bridge to prevent their passage. The commanding officer ordered the bridge to be let down, which the people peremptorily refused, saying, that it was a private road, and that he had no authority to demand a passage that way. For to the last moment the language of peace was preserved, and until the sword was decisively drawn, all resistance was carried on upon some legal ground. Upon this refusal, the officer determined to make use of a boat, thereby to gain possession of the bridge; but the country people perceiving his in-

intention, several of them jumped into the boat with axes, and cut holes thro' her bottom, which occasioned some scuffle between them and the soldiers in and about the boat. Things were now tending to extremities, as the commander seemed determined to force his passage, and the others as resolutely bent to prevent it. In this situation, a neighbouring clergyman, who had attended the whole transaction, remonstrated with the lieutenant-colonel, upon the fatal consequences which would inevitably attend his making use of force. And finding that the point of military honour, with respect to making good his passage, was the principal object with that gentlemen, it being then too late in the evening to prosecute his original design, he prevailed upon the people to let down the bridge, which the troops took possession of; and the colonel having pushed a detachment a little way into the country, in exercise of the right which he assumed, they immediately after returned, without molestation, on board the transport. Thus ended this first expedition, without effect, and happily without mischief. Enough appeared to shew upon what a slender thread the peace of the empire hung; and that the least exertion of the military would certainly bring things to extremities. The people, since the acts for casting away their charter, and for protecting the soldiery from any trial in the province, considered themselves as put under military government. Every motion of that body became suspected, and was in their eyes an exertion of the most odious and most dreadful tyranny.

This appearance of resistance seems, on the other side, to have greatly irritated the military, for from this time they appear to have lived upon worse terms with the inhabitants of Boston than they had hitherto done; some general and wanton insults, as well as particular outrages having been complained of. But the crisis was now fast approaching, in

1775. which all her lesser evils and calamities were to be lost and forgotten in the contemplation of those of a great and serious nature.

Affair at
Lexington and
Concord.

Apr. 18.

The Provincials having collected a considerable quantity of military stores at the town of Concord, where the provincial congress was also held, Gen. Gage thought it expedient to detach the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn of the marines, in order to destroy them. It is said and believed, that this expedition had another object in view, which was to seize on the persons of Messrs. Hancock and Adams, those great and obnoxious leaders of the faction which opposed the new system of government. The detachment, which was supposed to consist of about 900 men, embarked at Boston on the night preceding the 19th of April, and having gone a little way up Charles river, landed at a place called Phipps's Farm, from whence they proceeded with great silence and expedition towards Concord. Several officers on horse back in the mean time scoured the roads, and secured such country people as they chanced to meet with at that early time. Notwithstanding these precautions, they discovered, by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed, and the people actually began to assemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before day-light.

Upon their arrival at Lexington, about five in the morning, they found the company of militia, belonging to that town, assembled on a green near the road; upon which an officer in the van called out, *Disperse, you rebels: throw down your arms, and disperse*: the soldiers at the same time running up with loud huzzas, some scattering shots were first fired, and immediately succeeded by a general discharge, by which eight of the militia were killed and several wounded.

Thus

Thus was the first blood drawn in this unhappy civil contest. Great pains were taken on each side to shew the other to have been the aggressor upon this occasion. A matter of little consequence, in a political view, as things were now too far advanced to leave room for a propable hope of any other than such a final issue. It was said in the Gazette, that the troops were first fired upon from some neighbouring houses. There is some obscurity in this business, for it appears, from the general tenor of the evidence, as well as of some of our own people who were taken prisoners, as of a great number of the provincials, all whose depositions were regularly taken and attested by proper magistrates, that the firing both at Lexington and Concord was commenced by the troops. Indeed it seems evident, that a single company of militia, standing, as it may be said under the muzzles of our soldiers guns, would have been sufficient pledges to prevent any outrage from their friends and neighbours in the adjoining houses.

After this execution, the detachment proceeded to Concord, the commanding officer having previously dispatched six companies of light infantry to possess two bridges which lay at some distance beyond the town, probably with a view of preventing any of the stores from being carried off that way; or, if he had orders about the seizure of persons, to prevent the escape of those whom it was his object to secure. A body of militia who occupied a hill in the way, retired at the approach of the troops, and passed over one of those bridges, which was immediately after taken possession of by the light infantry. The main body having arrived at the town, proceeded to execute their commission, by rendering three pieces of iron cannon unserviceable, destroying some guns and other carriages, and throwing several barrels of flour, gunpowder, and musket ball into the river. In the mean time, the militia which retired

1775. retired from the hill, seeing several fires in the town which they apprehended to be of houses in flames, returned towards the bridge which they had lately passed, and which lay in their way thither. Upon this movement, the light infantry retired on the Concord side of the river, and began to pull up the bridge; but upon the near approach of the militia, (who seemed studiously to have avoided all appearance of beginning the attack, and made as if they only wanted to pass as common travellers) the soldiers immediately fired, and killed two men. The provincials returned the fire, and a skirmish ensued at the bridge, in which the former seem to have been under some disadvantage, and were forced to retreat, having several men killed and wounded, and a lieutenant and some others taken.

Province
rises in
arms.

About this time the country rose upon them. The troops were attacked on all quarters; skirmish succeeded upon skirmish; and a continued, though scattering and irregular fire, was supported through the whole of a long and very hot day. In the march back of six miles to Lexington, the troops were exceedingly annoyed, not only by the pursuers, but by the fire from houses, walls, and other coverts, all of which were filled or lined with armed men.

L. Percy's
detachment

It happened fortunately, that General Gage, apprehensive of the danger of the service, had detached Lord Percy early in the morning with 16 companies of foot, a detachment of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to support Colonel Smith's detachment, and that they were arrived at Lexington, by the time the others had returned from Concord. This circumstance was the more fortunate, as it is reported the first detachment had by that time expended all their ammunition; but if that even had not been the case, it scarcely seems possible that they could have escaped being cut off or taken in the long subsequent retreat of fifteen miles.

This

This powerful support, especially the cannon, afforded a breathing-time to the first detachment at Lexington, which they already much wanted. The field pieces obliged the provincials to keep their distance. But as soon as the troops resumed their march, the attacks, as the country people became more numerous, grew in proportion more violent, and the danger was continually augmenting, until they arrived about sun-set at Charlestown; from whence they passed over directly to Boston, under the protection (as the provincials say) of the guns of the Somerset man of war; the troops being entirely spent and worn down, by the excessive fatigues they had undergone. They had marched that day near 35 miles. 1775.

The loss was not so great on either side, as the length, irregularity, and variety of the engagement might seem to indicate; which may be attributed to the provincials not being at first powerful in number, and to their being afterwards kept at some distance by the field pieces. The king's troops, as may be expected, were the greater sufferers, having lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 273 men, of which 65 were killed, 2 lieutenants, and above 20 private men taken prisoners, and Colonel Smith, with another lieutenant-colonel and several officers, wounded. By the provincial accounts, which gives the names and places of abode of those who fell on their side, their loss in killed and wounded (including those who fell by the first fire in the morning at Lexington) amounted only to about sixty, of which near two thirds were killed. Loss on both sides.

By the nearest calculation that can be made, there were from 1800 to 2000 of the best troops in the service (being about half the force that was then stationed at Boston) employed upon this expedition. The event sufficiently shewed how ill-informed those were who had so often asserted at home, that a regiment or two could force their way through any part of

1775.

of the continent, and that the very sight of a grenadier's cap, would be sufficient to put an American army to flight.

Upon this occasion, each side charged the other with the most inhuman cruelties. Civil wars produce many such charges; but we have good reason, and some authority for believing, that these accounts, if at all true on either side, were much exaggerated. On one side, it is certain, that an officer and some of the soldiers who were wounded and prisoners, gave public testimonials of the humanity with which they were treated; and that the provincial commanders sent an offer to General Gage, to admit his surgeons to come and dress the wounded.

Although on the other side, the regulars were charged with killing the old, the infirm, the unarmed, and the wounded, without mercy; with burning several houses, and plundering every thing that came in their way; we have had too constant and uniform an experience of the honour of our officers, and the humanity of our soldiers, not to consider this account as equally exaggerated.

Boston
invested
by great
numbers
of the
militia.

This affair immediately called up the whole province in arms; and though a sufficient number were speedily assembled effectually to invest the king's troops in Boston, it was with difficulty that the crowds who were hastily marching from different parts, could be prevailed upon to return to their respective homes. The body of militia which surrounded Boston, amounted, as it was said, to above 20,000 men, under the command of the Colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas, who for the present acted as generals, and having fixed their head quarters at Cambridge, formed a line of encampment, the right wing of which extended from that town to Roxbury, and the left to Mystick, the distance between the points

being about thirty miles. This line they strengthened with artillery. They were speedily joined by Colonel Putnam, an old and brave provincial officer, who had acquired experience and reputation in the two last wars. He encamped with a large detachment of Connecticut troops in such a position, as to be readily able to support those who were before the town.

1775.

In the mean time the provincial congress, which was now removed to Watertown, drew up an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which they stated the most material particulars, relative to the late engagement, and took pains to shew, that hostilities were first commenced, and blood drawn, both at Lexington and Concord by the regulars. They complain of the ravages committed by them in their retreat; place much dependence on the honour, wisdom, and valour of Britons, from which they hope their interference in preventing the prosecution of measures, which, they represent, as equally ruinous to the mother country and the colonies; they make great professions of loyalty; but declare, that they will not tamely submit to the persecution and tyranny of a cruel ministry, and (appealing to Heaven for the justice of their cause) that they are determined to *die* or be *free*.

Provincial congress
addresses
the people of G.
Britain.

The provincial congress also passed a vote for the array and support of an army; fixed the pay of the officers and soldiers, and published rules and orders for its regulation and government. To provide for the military expence, they passed a vote for the issuing of a considerable sum in paper currency, which was to be received in all cases as money, and the faith of the province pledged for its payment. As the term for which they were chosen was to expire on the 30th of May, they gave notice for the election of a new congress, to meet on the 31st of that month at the same place, and to be continued for six months, and no longer.

Measures
pursued
for the
array and
support
of an army.

1775.
May, 5th

Pay of
the offi-
cers and
soldiers
fixed, &c.

longer. They also passed a resolution, that General Gage had, by the late transactions, and many other means, utterly disqualified himself from serving that colony as a governor, or in any other capacity, and that therefore no obedience was in future due to him; but that on the contrary he ought to be considered and guarded against, as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country.

The affair at Lexington (though some such event must have been long foreseen and expected) excited the greatest indignation in the other colonies, and they prepared for war with as much eagerness and dispatch as if an enemy had already appeared at each of their doors. The bravery shewn by the militia in this their first essay, and the supposed advantages they had obtained over the regulars, were matters of great exultation; while those who fell in the action were regretted with the deepest concern, and honoured, not only as patriots, but as martyrs, who had died bravely in the cause of their country. The outrages and cruelties charged upon the king's forces, however unjustly founded, produced a great effect, and increased the public fever.

In some places the magazines were seized, and in New-Jersey the treasury; a considerable sum of money in which was appropriated to the payment of the troops they were raising. At the same time, without waiting for any concert or advice, a stop was almost every where put to the exportation of provisions; and in some places all exportation was stopt, till the opinion of the general congress upon that subject was known. Lord North's conciliatory plan, or the resolution founded upon it, was totally rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; nor was it received any where.

In the mean time, the governor and forces at Boston, as well as the inhabitants, continued closely blocked

blocked up by land; and being shut out from all supplies of fresh provisions and vegetables, which the neighbouring counties could have afforded by sea, they began to experience those inconveniencies which afterwards amounted to real distress. As the inhabitants had now no other resource for their subsistence than the king's stores, the provincials were the more strict in preventing all supplies, hoping that the want of provisions would lay the governor under a necessity of consenting to their departure from the town; or at least that the women and children would be suffered to depart, which was repeatedly applied for. It is probable that the governor considered the inhabitants as necessary hostages for the security of the town, at least, if not of the troops. However it was, he at length entered into a capitulation with the inhabitants, by which, upon condition of delivering up their arms, they were to have free liberty to depart with all their other effects. The inhabitants accordingly delivered up their arms; but to their utter dismay and astonishment, the governor refused to fulfil the conditions on his side. This breach of faith, and the consequences that attended it, were much complained of. Many, however, both then, and at different times after, obtained permission to quit the town; but they were obliged to leave all their effects behind; so that those who had hitherto lived in ease and affluence, were at once reduced to the extremity of indigence and misery. The general congress ranked amongst their bitterest complaints the sufferings of the inhabitants in this respect. They say, that passports were granted or retained in such a manner, that families were broken and the dearest connections separated; part being compelled to quit the town, and part retained against their will. This, by far the most dishonourable to government, we are obliged in fairness to state according to the provincial narrative, no other having appeared to contradict or qualify it. The poor and helpless were all sent out.

1775.

Capitu-
lation
with the
inhabi-
tants of
Boston
not ad-
hered to.

C H A P. VIII.

From the meeting of the General Congress at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, (pursuant to adjournment, from Oct. 26, 1774) to the blockade of Boston, in July following, by the generals Washington and Lee; with a particular account of the action of Bunker's-Hill.

1775.
May 10.

Resolutions for raising an army, the establishment of a paper currency and to prevent British fisheries from being supplied with provisions.

THE Continental Congress having met at the time appointed at Philadelphia, soon adopted such measures as confirmed the people in their resolution and conduct. Among their first acts were resolutions for the raising of an army, and the establishment of a large paper currency for its payment; the “United Colonies,” (by which appellation they resolved that they should be known and distinguished for the future) being securities for realizing the nominal value of this currency. They also strictly prohibited the supplying of the British fisheries with any kind of provisions; and to render this order the more effectual, stopt all exportation to those colonies, islands, and places which still retained their obedience. This measure, which does not seem to have been expected, or even apprehended at home, occasioned no small distress to the people at Newfoundland, and to all those employed in the fisheries; insomuch that to prevent an absolute famine, several ships were under a necessity of returning light from that station, to carry out cargoes of provisions from Ireland.

The city and province of New-York, notwithstanding their former moderation, seemed, upon receiving an account of the late action, to receive also a plentiful portion of that spirit which operated in the other colonies. A most numerous association was accordingly formed, and a Provincial Congress elected. But as some regiments from Ireland were expected speedily to arrive there, and that capital, besides, lies open to the sea, its situation became

became very critical. In these circumstances, a body of Connecticut men arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, avowedly for its protection, and probably also to support the present disposition of the people. Their strength was not, however, sufficient to afford an effectual protection; nor, if it had been greater, would it have availed against an attack by sea. The city accordingly applied, through its delegates, to the Continental Congress for instructions how to act upon the arrival of the troops. The Congress advised them for the present, to act defensively with respect to the troops, so far as it could be done consistently with their own security; —to suffer them to occupy their barracks, so long as they behaved peaceably and quietly; but not to suffer them to erect any fortification, or in any manner to cut off the communications between the city and country; and if they attempted hostilities, that they should defend themselves, and repel force by force. They also recommended to them, to provide for the worst that might happen, by securing places of retreat for the women and children; by removing the arms and ammunition from the magazines; and by keeping a sufficient number of men embodied for the protection of the inhabitants in general.—The departure of so many helpless objects from the places of their habitation, was a very affecting spectacle. That once flourishing commercial city was now become almost a desert. It was by its own inhabitants devoted to the flames. It happened, perhaps happily for New-York, that the troops being more wanted at Boston, were not landed there.

1775.

Application from the people of N. York to the Gen. Congress.

In the mean time, several private persons belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New-York, undertook at their own risque, and without any public command or participation, an expedition of the utmost importance, and which not only in its consequences most materially affect-

Crown-point and Ticonderoga surprised.

ed

1775.

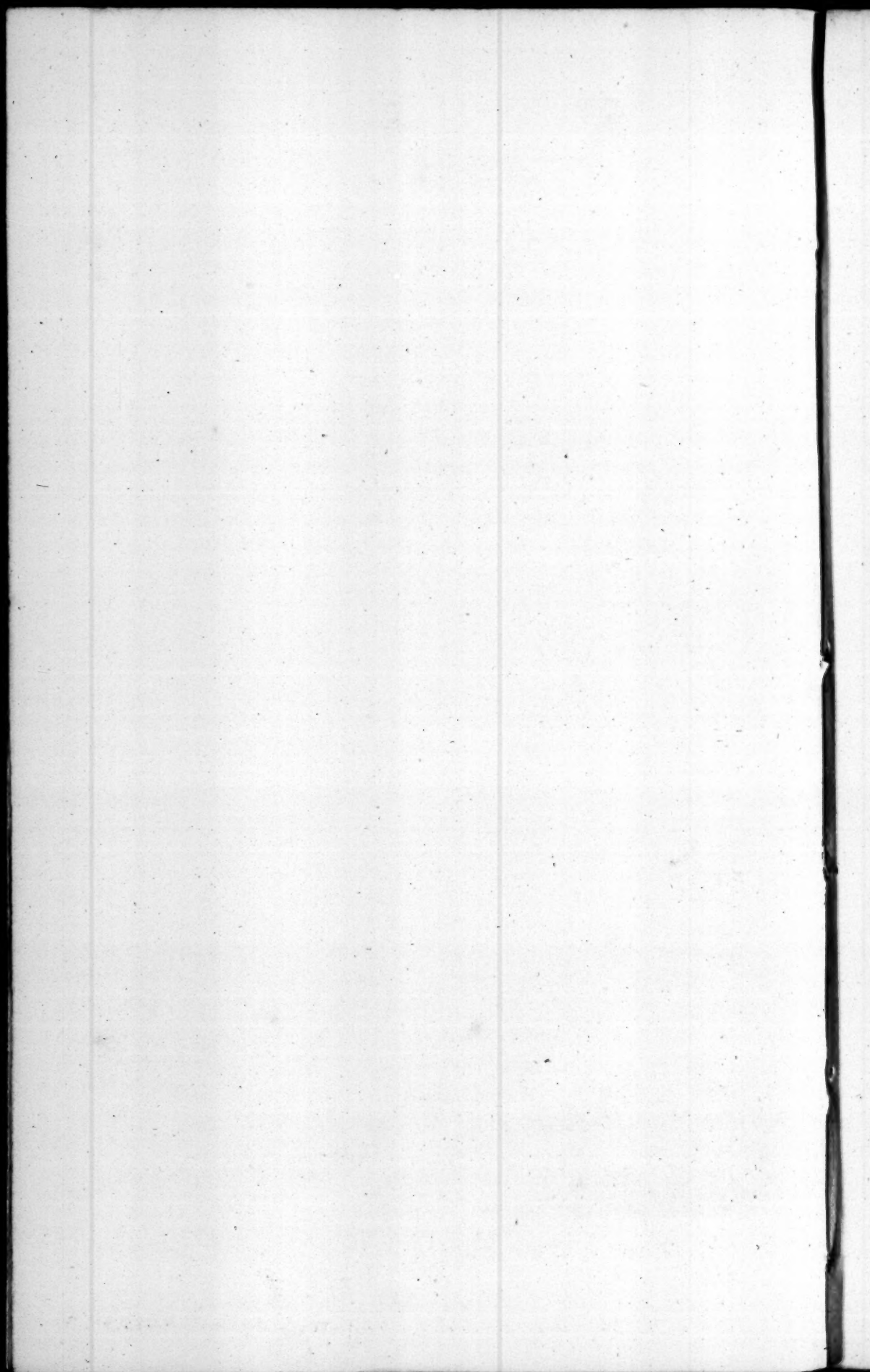
ed the interest and power of government in the colonies; but had brought the question to the critical nicety of a point, and the decision to depend merely upon accident, whether we should have a single possession left in North-America. This was the surprize of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and other fortresses, situated upon the great lakes, and commanding the passes between the British colonies and Canada. It seems that some of those who were among the first that formed this design, and had set out with the greatest privacy in its prosecution, met by the way with others, who, without any previous concert, were embarked in the same project; so extensive was that spirit of enterprize which these unhappy contests called into action. These adventurers, amounting in the whole to about 240 men, under the command of a Colonel Easton, and a Colonel Ethan Allen, with great perseverance and address, surprized the small garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. These fortresses were taken without the loss of a man on either side. They found in the forts a considerable artillery, amounting, as they said, to above 200 pieces of cannon, besides some mortars, howits, and quantities of various stores, which were to them highly valuable; they also took two vessels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderoga for the building and equipping of others.

May 25,
Generals
and
troops
arrive at
Boston.

During these transactions the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston from England, together with a considerable number of marines, and draughts from other regiments, to supply the vacancies there. These were soon followed by several regiments from Ireland, so that the force at Boston, with respect to number, the goodness of the troops, and the character of the commanders, was become very respectable; and it was



The Hon. Sir Will^m Howe K. of the
BATH.
Commander in Chief of all his Majestys Forces in America



was generally believed, that matters could not continue much longer in their then situation.

1775.

Nothing remarkable had yet happened since the commencement of the blockade, except two small engagements which arose from the attempts of either party to carry off the stock of some of those islands, with which the bay of Boston is interspersed, and which afforded the mixed spectacle of ships, boats, and men, engaged by land and water. In both these skirmishes (each of which continued for several hours) the king's troops were foiled, with some loss; and in the last, which happened at Hogg and Noddle's-Islands, an armed schooner being left by the tide, the people after standing a severe fire of small arms, and two pieces of artillery from the shore, were at length obliged to abandon her, and she was burned by the provincials.

Engage-
ments in
the
islands
near Bos-
ton.

Notwithstanding the late reinforcements, and the arrival of generals of the most active character, the troops continued for some time very quiet at Boston. On the other side, it is probable that an attempt would have been made to storm that town, while the people were hot in blood after the affair of Lexington, if a concern for the preservation of the inhabitants had not prevailed over every other consideration. It must however be allowed, that from the number of vessels of war, which nearly surrounded the peninsula, as well as the vast artillery by which it was protected, and the excellency of the troops, that such an attempt must have been attended with great difficulty and danger, and that the destruction of the town must have been laid down as an inevitable consequence. There were other matters also of consideration. A repulse to new troops, or the carnage that would even attend success in so arduous a conflict, might have been attended with fatal consequences; the people were not only new to war, but they were in a new and strange

1775.  strange state and situation ; they were entering into an untried, unthought-of, and unnatural contest, loaded with the most fatal consequences, without experience to guide, or precedent to direct them ; they had not yet in general renounced all hopes of an accommodation, and those who had not, would totally condemn any violence which shut them out from so desirable an event ; in such a wavering state of hope, fear, and uncertainty, much caution was to be used, as any untoward event, might suddenly damp the ardour of the people, dissolve their resolutions, and shake all their confederacies to pieces.

June 8.
G. Congress resolve that the compact between the crown & the province of Massachusetts Bay is dissolved.

Erect a general post-office.

In the mean time the Continental Congress resolved, that the compact between the crown and the people of Massachusetts-Bay, was dissolved, by the violation of the charter of William and Mary ; and therefore recommended to the people of that province, to proceed to the establishment of a new government, by electing a Governor, Assistants, and House of Assembly, according to the powers contained in their original charter. They passed another resolution, that no bill of exchange, draught, or order, of any officer in the army or navy, their agents, or contractors, should be received or negotiated, or any money supplied to them by any person ; and prohibited the supplying of the army, navy, or ships employed in the transport service, with provisions or necessaries of any kind. They also erected a general post-office at Philadelphia, which also extended through all the united colonies ; and some time after placed Dr. Franklin, who had been disgraced and removed from that office in England, at the head of it. Thus had they, in effect, only under the name of recommendation and council, assumed all the powers of a supreme government.

June 12.

About the same time General Gage issued a proclamation, by which a pardon was offered in the king's



JOHN HANCOCK, Esq;
 PRESIDENT *of the* AMERICAN CONGRESS.

king's name, to all those who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only from the benefit of the pardon, SAMUEL ADAMS and JOHN HANDCOCK, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment. All those who did not accept of the proffer'd mercy, or who should protect, assist, supply, conceal, or correspond with them, to be treated as rebels and traitors. It also declared, that as a stop was put to the due course of justice, marshal law should take place till the laws were restored to their due efficacy. It is needless to observe, that this proclamation had as little effect as any of those that preceded it. Mr. HANDCOCK * was about that time chosen president of the Continental Congress.

1775.

Proclamation
of rebel-
lion by
G. Gage.

* This gentleman was born in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America, in which he enjoyed a very considerable fortune. From the first disturbances in America, about the Stamp-act, he took a very active part in the defence of, what he concluded to be, the Rights and Liberties of his native country. When delegates were first chosen to meet in continental congress, he was elected one of the representatives for his province; and on the death of Peyton Randolph, esq; unanimously chosen President. His eloquence was manifested by his very spirited oration on the anniversary of the massacre at Boston; and his coolness must be acknowledged, when it is known that most of the dutiful addresses, and conciliatory proposals, originated from his pen. He is at present in his 38th year, and was married last Autumn, to one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies in America, who brought him a very considerable addition to his paternal fortune, yet he scorned to lie down in the lap of ease, but resolved to devote all his abilities to the benefit of that country, whose united voice, from the knowledge of his many virtues, called him to preside over the free elected representatives of the whole continent.

Mr. Hancock's
character

Mr. ADAMS, is a gentleman who has made a great figure in America, and has taken so active a part in all her disputes with the mother country, that he was joined with Mr. Hancock in being the only persons refused pardons on returning to their duty to the British administration, in the proclamation just issued by General Gage. He is a man of fortune, and a native of

Mr.
Adams's.

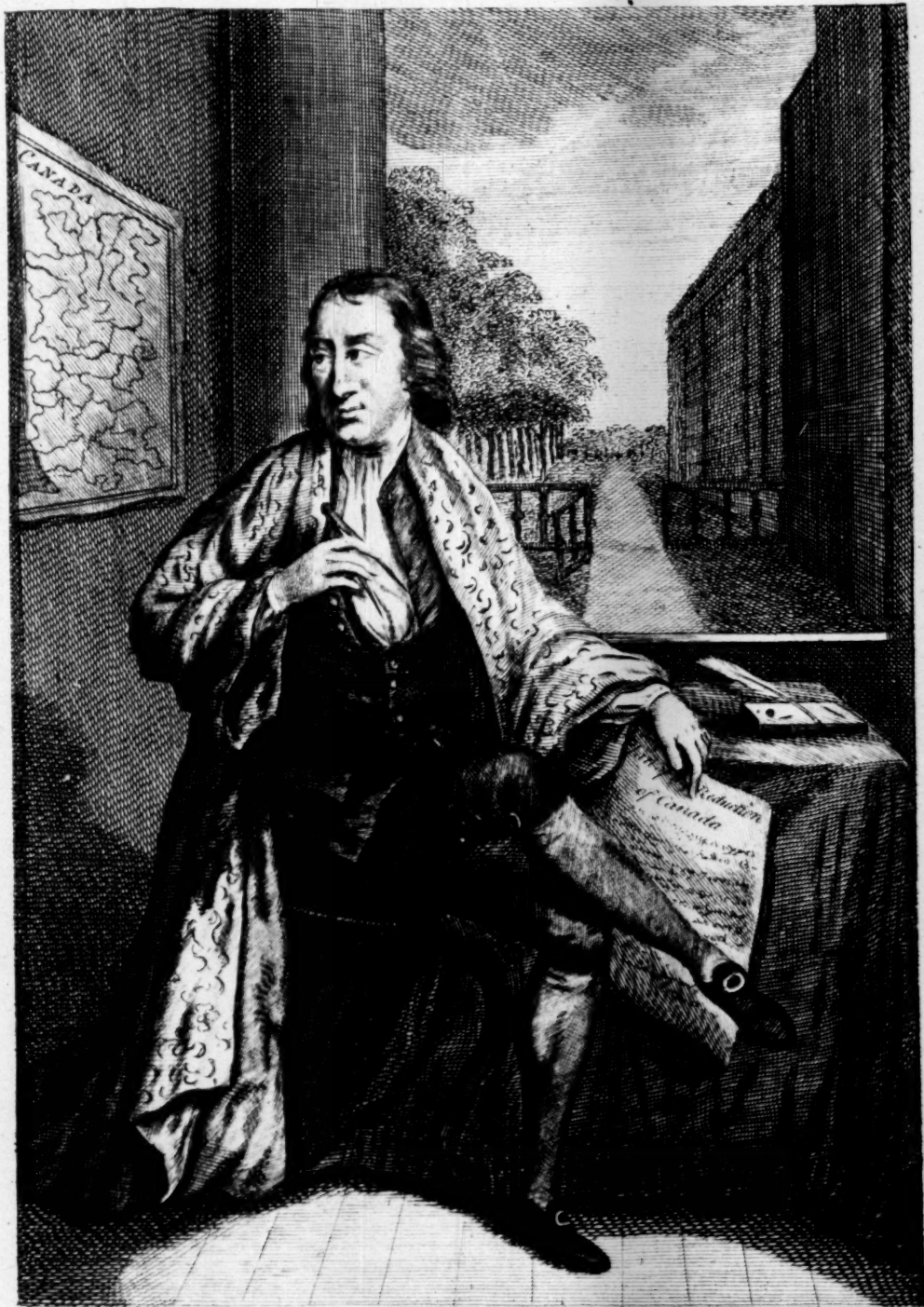
New-

1775.

This proclamation was looked upon as the preliminary to immediate action. Accordingly, from that moment both sides held themselves in readiness for it. The post of Charlestown had hitherto been neglected by both the parties. The provincials thought it necessary for them, whether they should chuse to act on the defensive or offensive. They accordingly made the necessary preparations, and sent a body of men thither at night with the greatest privacy, to throw up works upon Bunker's-Hill, an high ground that lies just within the isthmus, or neck of land that joins the peninsula to the continent. This peninsula is very similar to that on which Boston stands, excepting that the isthmus is considerably wider, and that Bunker's Hill is much higher than any hill in the latter. The towns are only separated by Charles-River, which in that part is only about the breadth of the Thames between London and Southwark; so that Charlestown seemed to hold the same connexion with Boston, that the Borough does with that city.

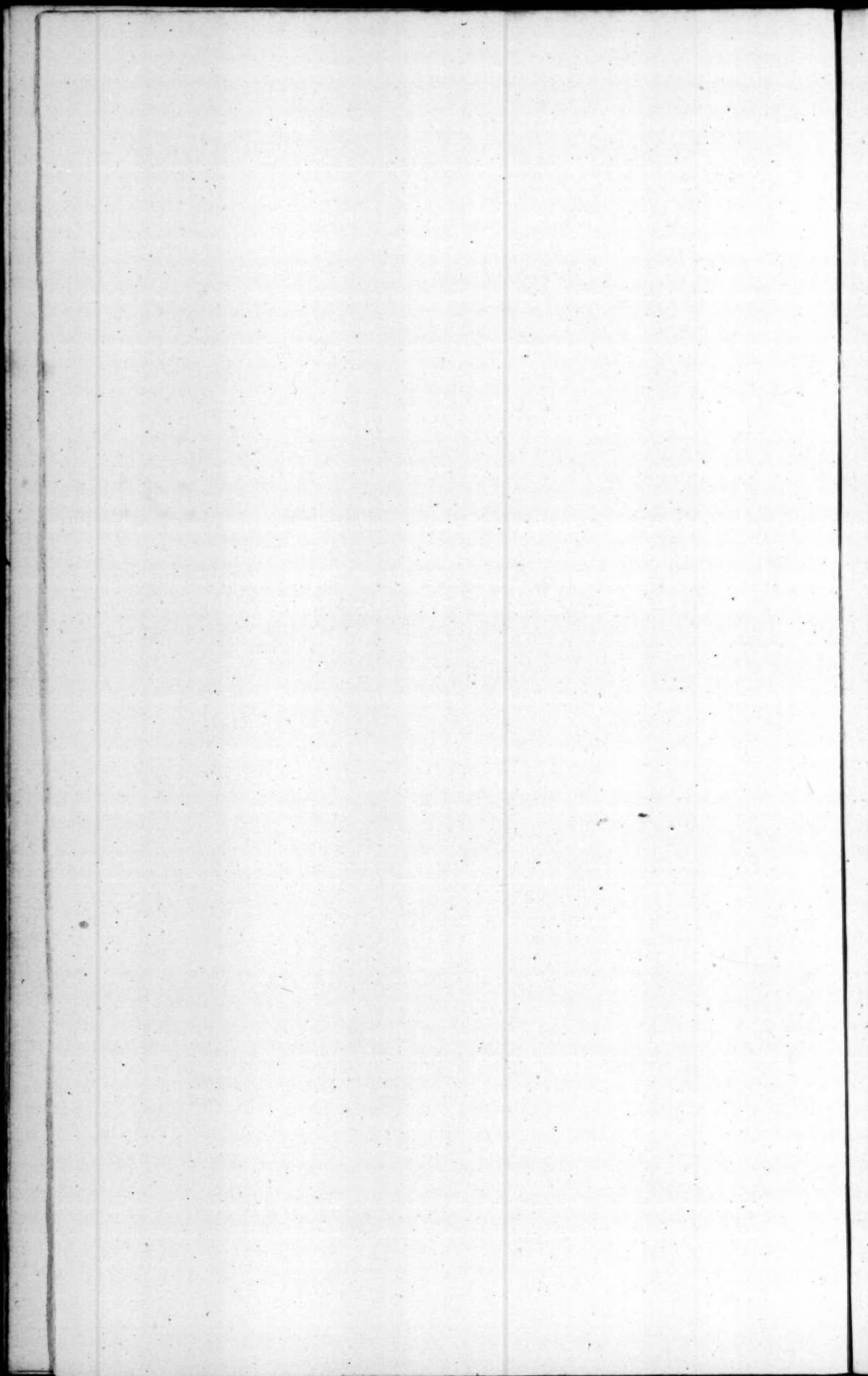
The party that was sent upon this service, carried on their works with such extraordinary order and silence, that though the peninsula was surrounded

New-England; about 54 years of age, and early imbibed a love for a constitutional Liberty, which love he carried to a degree of enthusiasm, that would not admit him to be a silent spectator of the disputes which arose first about the Stamp-act, and since on the Tea. He took every opportunity to warn his countrymen of the dangers arising to their liberties; and however some may think the question problematical, yet as he always acted from principle, if he is even mistaken, he has a just claim to the title of an *honest man*. When it was thought necessary to convene delegates, from the different provinces, he was sent to the Gen. Continental Congress, as one of the representatives for the province of Massachusetts Bay. In what light he is held by the Americans may be easily gathered, from his being lately appointed to a post equivalent to that of Secretary of state. In short, he is an able politician; and the attack on Canada by the Provincials was in consequence of a plan laid down by him.



SAMUEL ADAMS Esq.

*One of the DELEGATES from the Province of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY
to the General Continental CONGRESS of NORTH-AMERICA.*



ed with ships of war, they were not heard during the night, and used such incredible dispatch in the execution, that they had a small but strong redoubt, considerable entrenchments, and a breast-work, that was in some parts cannon proof, far advanced towards completion by break of day. The fight of the works, was the first notice that alarmed the Lively man of war early in the morning, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a fight, which seemed little less than a prodigy.

1775.

June 17.

A heavy and continued fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from thence carried on upon the works, from the ships, floating batteries, and from the top of Cop's-Hill in Boston. Such a great and incessant roar of artillery, would have been a trial to the firmness of old soldiers, and must undoubtedly have greatly impeded the completion of the works; it is however said, that they bore this severe fire with wonderful firmness, and seemed to go on with their business as if no enemy had been near, nor danger in the service.

About noon, General Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of Major-General Howe, and Brigadier-General Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. This detachment consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper artillery, who were landed and drawn up without opposition, under the fire of the ships of war. The two generals found the enemy so numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordingly joined by some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the first battalion of marines amounting in the whole, as re-

Action at
Bunker's
Hill.

1775. presented by General Gage's letter, to something more than 2000 men.

Charlestown
burnt.

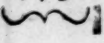
The attack was begun by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced very slowly towards the enemy, and halted several times, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the provincials into confusion. Whatever it proceeded from, whether from the number, situation, or countenance of the enemy, or from all together, the king's forces seem to have been unusually staggered in this attack. The provincials threw some men into the houses of Charlestown, which covered their right flank, by which means, General Pigot, who commanded our left wing, and to whose activity, bravery, and firmness, much of this day's success was owing, was at once engaged with the lines, and with those in the houses. In this conflict, Charlestown, whether by carcasses thrown from the ships, or by the troops, is uncertain, was unfortunately set on fire in several places, and burnt to the ground. The provincials stood this severe and continual fire of small arms and artillery, with a resolution and perseverance, which would not have done discredit to old troops. They did not return a shot, until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, when a most dreadful fire took place, by which a number of our bravest men and officers fell. Some gentlemen, who had served in the most distinguished actions of the last war, declared, that for the time it lasted, it was the hottest engagement they ever knew. It is then no wonder, if under so heavy and destructive a fire, our troops were thrown into some disorder. It is said, that General Howe, was for a few seconds left nearly alone; and it is certain, that most of the officers near his person, were either killed or wounded. His coolness, firmness, and presence of mind on this occasion cannot be too much applauded. It fully answered all
the

the ideas so generally entertained of the courage of his family. It is said, that in this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, by a happy manœuvre, rallied the troops almost instantaneously, and brought them again to the charge. However that was, their usual intrepidity now produced its usual effects; they attacked the works with fixed bayonets, and irresistible fury, and forced them in every quarter.— Though many of the provincials were destitute of bayonets, and, as they affirm, their ammunition was expended, a number of them fought desperately within the works, and were not drove from them without difficulty. They at length retreated over Charlestown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. They suffered but little loss from this formidable artillery, though the dread of it had prevented some regiments who were ordered to support them from fulfilling their duty.

1775.

Thus ended the hot and bloody affair of Bunker's- Hill, in which we had more men and officers killed and wounded, in proportion to the number engaged, than in any other action which we can recollect. The whole loss in killed and wounded, amounted to 1054, of whom 226 were killed; of these, 19 were commissioned officers, including a lieutenant colonel, 2 majors, and 7 captains; 70 other officers were wounded. Among those who were more generally regretted upon this occasion, were Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, and the brave Major Pitcairne of the marines. The Majors Williams and Spendlove, the last of whom died of his wounds some time after the action, had also sealed their lives with such distinguished honour, as to render their loss the more sensibly felt. The event sufficiently shewed the bravery of the king's troops. There was scarcely a single officer who had not some opportunity of signaling himself; the
gen.

Killed &
wounded
of the K's
troops.

1775.  generals and field officers used the most extraordinary exertions. All these circumstances concur in shewing the hard and dangerous service in which they were engaged. The battle of Quebec, in the late war, with all its glory, and the vastness of the consequences of which it was productive, was not so destructive to our officers, as this affair of a retrenchment cast up in a few hours. It was a matter of grievous reflection, that those brave men, many of whom had nobly contributed their share, when engaged against her natural enemies, to extend the military glory of their country into every quarter of the globe, should now have suffered so severely, in only a prelude to this unhappy civil contest.

The fate of Charlestown was also a matter of melancholy contemplation to the serious and unprejudiced of all parties. It was the first settlement made in the colony, and was considered as the mother of Boston, that town owing its birth and nurture to emigrants from the former. Charlestown was large, handsome, and well built, both in respect to its public and private edifices; it contained about 400 houses, and had the greatest trade of any port in the province except Boston. It is said, that the two ports cleared out a thousand vessels annually for a foreign trade, exclusive of an infinite number of coasters. It is now buried in its ruins. Such is the termination of human labour, industry, and wisdom; and such are the fatal fruits of civil dissensions.

Killed &
wounded
of the
provin-
cials.

The king's troops took five pieces of cannon out of six, which the provincials brought into the peninsula; and they left about 30 wounded behind them. No other prisoners were taken. Their loss, according to an account published by the provincial congress, was comparatively small, amounting to about 450, killed, wounded, missing, and

and prisoners. On our side they are confident, that the slaughter was much more considerable; but of this we had no particulars, as the account said, that the provincials buried a great number of their dead during the engagement. This is an extraordinary circumstance. But the loss they lamented most, was that of Dr. Warren, who acting as a major-general, commanded the party upon this occasion, and was killed, fighting bravely at their head, in a little redoubt to the right of their lines. This gentleman, who was rendered conspicuous by his general merit, abilities, and eloquence, had been one of the delegates to the first general, and was at this time president of the provincial congress; but quitting the peaceable walk of his profession as a physician, and breaking through the endearing ties of family satisfaction, he shewed himself equally calculated for the field, as for public business or private study, and shed his blood gallantly in, what he deemed, the service of his country. They lost some other officers of name, one of whom, a lieutenant-colonel, died of his wounds in the prison at Boston.

1775.

Dr. Warren killed.

Both sides claimed much honour from this action. The regulars, from having, it was said, beaten three times their own number, out of a strongly fortified post, and under various other disadvantages. On the other side, they represented the regulars as amounting to 3000 men, and rated their own number only at 1500; and pretended, that this small body not only withstood their attack, and repeatedly repulsed them with great loss, notwithstanding the powerful artillery they had brought with them, but that they had at the same time, and for several hours before, sustained a most intolerable fire, from the ships of war, floating batteries, and fixed battery at Bolton, which prevented them from being able in any degree to finish their works. What their exact number was cannot be easily known

1775.

known. It was not probably so large as it was made in the Gazette account; nor so small as in that given by the Americans. However, the provincials were by no means dispirited by the event of this engagement. They had shewn a great degree of activity and skill in the construction of their works; and of constancy, in maintaining them under many disadvantages. They said, that tho' they had lost a post, they had almost all the effects of the most complete victory; as they entirely put a stop to the offensive operations of a large army sent to subdue them; and which they continued to blockade in a narrow town. They now exulted, that their actions had thoroughly refuted those aspersions which had been thrown upon them in England, of a deficiency in spirit and resolution.

Bunker's
Hill for-
tified by
the regu-
lars.

From this time, the troops kept possession of the peninsula, and fortified Bunker's-Hill and the entrance; so that the force at Boston was now divided into two distinct parts, and had two garrisons to maintain. In one sense, this was useful to the troops, as it enlarged their quarters; they having been before much incommoded by the streightness in which they were confined in Boston, during the excessive heats that always prevail there at that season of the year; but this advantage was counterballanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Their situation was irksome and degrading. They were surrounded and insulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to despise. They were cut off from fresh provisions, and all those refreshments of which they stood in the greatest need, and which the neighbouring countries afforded in the greatest plenty. Thus their wants were continual and aggravating remembrancers of the circumstances of their situation. Bad and salt provisions, with confinement and the heat of the climate, naturally filled the hospitals; and the number of sick and wounded was now said

to

to amount to 1600. Under these circumstances it was rather wonderful that the number was not greater. But few in comparison died. 1775.

The provincials, after the action of Bunker's Hill, immediately threw up works upon another hill opposite to it on their side of Charlestown neck; so that the troops were as closely invested in that peninsula as they had been at Boston. They were also indefatigable in securing the most exposed posts of their lines with strong redoubts covered with artillery, and advanced their works close to the fortifications on Boston neck; while, with equal boldness and address, they burnt an advanced guard-house belonging to our people. As the latter were abundantly furnished with all manner of military stores and artillery, they were not sparing in throwing shells, and supporting a great cannonade upon the works of the provincials, which had little other effect than to inure them to that sort of service, and to wear off the dread of those noisy messengers of fate. On the other side, they seem to have been cautious in expending their powder.

Provinci-
als throw
up works
on Char-
lestown
neck.

Guard
house
burnt.

A regiment of light cavalry which arrived at Boston from Ireland, and which were never able to set foot beyond that garrison, served only to create new wants, and to increase the inconveniences of the people, as well as of the army. The hay which grew upon the islands in the bay, became now an object of necessary attention, as well as the sheep and cattle which they contained; but the provincials having procured a number of whaling-boats, and being masters of the shore and inlets of the bay, were notwithstanding the vigilance and number of the ships of war and armed vessels, too successful in burning, destroying, or carrying away, those essential articles of supply. These enterprizes brought on several skirmishes, and they grew at length so daring, that they burnt the light-house, which

1775.

Light-
house
burnt.

which was situated on an island at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of them at the time; and some carpenters being afterwards sent, under the protection of a small party of marines, to erect a temporary light-house, they killed or carried off the whole detachment.

During these transactions a kind of predatory war commenced, and has since continued, between the ships of war, and the inhabitants on different parts of the coasts. The former, being refused the supplies of provisions and necessaries which they wanted for themselves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in these attempts were frequently opposed, and sometimes repulsed with loss by the country-people. The seizing of ships in conformity to the new laws, or to the commands of the admiral, was also a continual source of animosity and violence, the proprietors naturally hazarding all dangers in the defence, or for the recovery of their property. These contests drew the vengeance of the men of war upon several of the small towns upon the sea coasts, some of which underwent a severe chastisement.

Conse-
quences
of the
Quebec
act.

Canadian
troops
under G.
Carleton
refuse to
act offen-
sively.

The pernicious consequences of the late Quebec act, with respect to the very purposes for which it was framed, were now displayed in a degree, which its most sanguine opponents could scarcely have expected. Instead of gaining the French Canadians to the interest of government by that law, the great body of the inhabitants were found as adverse to it, and as much disgusted at its operation, as even the British settlers. General Carleton, the governor of that province, who had placed much confidence in the raising of a considerable army of Canadians, and being enabled to march at their head to the relief of General Gage, (a matter which was so much relied upon at home, that 20,000 stands of arms, and a great quantity of other military stores had

had been sent out for that purpose) found himself now totally disappointed. The people said that they were now under the British government; that they could not pretend to understand the causes of the present disputes, nor the justice of the claims on either side; that they did, and would shew themselves dutiful subjects, by a quiet and peaceable demeanor, and due obedience to the government under which they were placed; but that it was totally inconsistent with their state and condition, to interfere, or in any degree to render themselves parties, in the contests that might arise between that government and its ancient subjects. It was in vain that the governor issued a proclamation for assembling a militia, and for the execution of martial law; they said they would defend the province if it was attacked; but they absolutely refused to march out of it, or to commence hostilities with their neighbours. The governor, as the last resort, applied to the Bishop of Quebec, to use his spiritual influence and authority with the people towards disposing them to the adoption of this favourite measure, and particularly that he would issue an episcopal mandate for that purpose, to be read by the parish priests in time of divine service; but the bishop excused himself from a compliance with this proposition, by representing, that an episcopal mandate on such a subject, would be contrary to the canons of the Roman Catholic church. The ecclesiastics, in the place of this, issued other letters, which were, however pretty generally disregarded. The noblesse alone, who were chiefly considered in the Quebec-act, shewed a zeal against the English colonists. But separated as they were from the great body of the people, they exhibited no formidable degree of strength.

1775.

Other endeavours which were used to involve the colonies in domestic troubles proved equally abortive. Considerable pains were taken, by the

Indians
applied
to.

1775.

means of several agents who had influence on them, to engage those numerous tribes of Indians that stretch along the backs of the colonies, to cause a diversion, by attacking them in those weak and tender parts. But neither presents, nor persuasions were capable of producing the desired effect. From whatever chance or fortune it preceded, those savage warriors, who had at other times been so ready to take up the hatchet without support or encouragement, now turned a deaf ear to all proposals of that nature, and declared for a neutrality. They used much the same reasons for this conduct that the Canadians had done; they did not understand the subject; were very sorry for the present unfortunate disputes; but it was not fit nor becoming for them, to take any part in quarrels between Englishmen, for all of whom, on both sides of the water, they had the highest affection. This was an object of too much importance, to be overlooked by the congress. They accordingly employed proper persons to cultivate favourable dispositions in the Indians; and by degrees took such measures as obliged the agents for government to provide for their own safety. It is said, that some of the Indians made proposals to take up arms on their side; but that they were only requested to observe a strict neutrality.

July 6th,
Declara-
tion of
the Gen.
Congress
in answer
to the late
procla-
mation.

General Gage's late proclamation increased the animosity, indignation, and rage, which were already so generally prevalent, and brought out a Declaration from the general congress, which in the nature of those general appeals that are made to mankind, as well as to heaven, in a declaration of war, set forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms. Among the long list of those supposed causes besides the late hostilities, they state the endeavours used to instigate the Canadians and Indians to attack them, and severely reproach Gen. Gage, for, what they call, perfidy, cruelty, and breach

breach of faith, in breaking the conditions which he had entered into with the inhabitants of Boston; they are not less free in the censure of the army, whom they charge with the burning of Charlestown, wantonly and unnecessarily. 1775.

In stating their resources, they reckon upon foreign assistance as undoubtedly attainable, if necessary. They, however, afterwards say, that, lest this Declaration should disquiet the minds of their friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, they assure them, that they mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and happily subsisted between them, and which they sincerely wish to see restored; that necessity has not yet driven them to that desperate measure, or induced them to excite any other nation to war against them; they have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states; they fight not for glory or for conquest.—This declaration was read with great, serious, and even religious solemnity, to the different bodies of the army who were encamped around Boston, and was received by them with loud acclamations of approbation.

This declaration was followed by an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain; another to the people of Ireland; and a petition to the King. All these writings were drawn up in a very masterly manner; and are, in respect to art, address, and execution, equal to any public Declarations made by any powers upon the greatest occasions.

Address
to the in-
habitants
of G. B.
—to the
people of
Ireland.
Petition
to the
king.

The Congress had in their Declaration, without naming it, reprobated the principles of Lord North's conciliatory proposition, which they call an insidious manœuvre adopted by parliament. They however, afterwards, took the resolution more formally into consideration. It had been communicated to them

1775.

them by direction, or at least permission from that minister, in the hand-writing of Sir Grey Cowper, one of the two principal secretaries of the treasury. In the course of a long and argumentative discussion, they condemn it, as unreasonable and insidious; that it is unreasonable, because, if they declare they will accede to it, they declare, without reservation, that they will purchase the favour of parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favour; that it is insidious, because individual colonies, having bid, and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the feller too great for all their powers to satisfy, are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister colonies, whom the minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer. They conclude upon the whole, that the proposition was held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief, that there was nothing in dispute but the mode of levying taxes; and that parliament having now been so good as to give up that, the colonies must be unreasonable in the highest degree if they were not perfectly satisfied.

Georgia
accedes
to the
general
confederacy.

The colony of Georgia at length joined in the general alliance. A provincial congress having assembled in the beginning of the month of July, they speedily agreed to all the resolutions of the two General Congresses in their utmost extent, and appointed five delegates to attend the present. As it were to make amends for the delay, they at once entered into all the spirit of the resolutions formed by the other colonies, and adopted similar; and declared, that though their province was not included in any of the oppressive acts lately passed against America, they considered that circumstance as an insult rather than a favour, as being done only with a view to divide them from their American brethren. They also addressed a petition, under the



His Excellency George Washington Esq.
Captain General of all the American Forces

CHAP. VIII. CIVIL WAR *in* AMERICA.

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the title of an humble address and representation, to his Majesty; which, however threadbare the subject had already been worn, was not deficient in a certain freshness of colouring, which gave it the appearance of novelty. From this accession to the confederacy, they henceforward assumed the appellation of the THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES. 1775.

In the mean time the General Congress, in compliance with the wishes of the people in general, and the particular application of the New-England provinces, appointed Geo. Washington, Esq; * a gentleman General Washington appointed commander in chief.

* The family from which this gentleman is descended, was originally in Lancashire, but afterwards removed to the city of Coventry where he was born. on the 3d of Sept. 1727. His mother was of the same family with General Monk, who, for his services at the Restoration, was created Duke of Albemarle.

Mr. Washington discovered an early inclination to arms and first entered as a private man, in general Wade's regiment, in the year 1746, being then not twenty-one, and soon after he bought a cornet's commission in the same regiment, and served against the Scotch rebels. He continued in the service till the peace, when he went abroad to improve himself in the military profession.

When the French war broke out in America, in the year 1755, Mr. Washington went over to that country, where his courage and military abilities being known, he was raised to the rank of Major in the provincial forces and was at Fort Edward, under the command of General Webb, when Monf. Montcalm advanced, to take Fort William Henry, on Lake George.

Major Washington having heard of the intended attack, and being apprehensive that lieutenant colonel Monro, who then commanded at Fort William Henry, would not be strong enough to resist the French, eagerly interceded with his General to be sent with his forces to the assistance of Monro. But his ardour was restrained; and the unfortunate commander forced to make the best terms he could with the French general, who afterwards, in violation of the treaty that had been made, permitted the Indian savages to fall upon them, and strip them of every thing of value.

The

1775.  tleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, and who had acquired considerable military experience in the command of different bodies of the provincials during the last war, to be general and commander in chief of all the American forces. They also appointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, Esqrs. to be major-generals; and Horatia Gates, Esq; adjutant-general. Of these general officers, Lee and Gates were English gentlemen, who had acquired honour in the last war; and who from disgust or principle now joined the Americans. Ward and Putnam were of Massachusetts-Bay, and Schuyler of New-York. The Congress also fixed and assigned the pay of both officers and soldiers; the latter of whom were much better provided for than those upon our establishment.

July 6th. The Generals Washington and Lee arrived at the camp before Boston in the beginning of July. *Washington and Lee arrive at Boston.* They were treated with the highest honours in every

The Americans soon afterwards raised Major Washington to the command of a regiment, in which rank he remained till the peace, when he retired to the cultivation and improvement of a very considerable estate he possessed in the province of Virginia.

When the present troubles in America arose on account of the famous Tea Act, colonel Washington was one of the foremost in expressing his detestation in imposing a tax on people who were not represented; and when a General Congress was thought necessary to be convened, he was chosen one of the delegates for the province of Virginia, and in that capacity signed the association on Oct. 20th, 1774. and the other subsequent publications of that body. The Continental Congress appointed General Washington to the supreme command of their armies to which commission was addressed,—“*To our beloved brother, George Washington, Esq; Captain General and Commander in chief of all the Forces of the United Colonies.*” The Congress annexed a very considerable salary to this important post, which he nobly refused to accept, declaring he would not take wages for his services in the Cause of Freedom, but desired only a reimbursement of the necessary expences.

every place through which they passed; were 1775.
 escorted by large detachments of volunteers, composed of gentlemen, in the different provinces; and received public addresses from the provincial congresses of New-York and Massachusetts-Bay. The military spirit was now so high and so general, that war and its preparations occupied the hands and the minds of all orders of people throughout the continent. Persons of fortune and family, who were not appointed officers, entered cheerfully as private men, and served with alacrity in the ranks. Even many of the younger quakers forgot their passive principles of forbearance and non-resistance, and taking up arms, formed themselves into companies at Philadelphia, and applied with the greatest labour and assiduity to acquire a proficiency in military exercises and discipline. It was said, (but no computation of that sort can be ascertained) that no less than 200,000 men were in arms and training throughout the continent.

The blockade of Boston, was continued with little variety throughout the year, and during a considerable part of the ensuing. The troops, as well as the remaining inhabitants, suffered much from fevers, fluxes, and the scurvy, which were brought on through confinement, heat of weather, and badness of provisions.*

* To alleviate these distresses, it is said, that no less than 5000 oxen, 14000 of the largest and fattest sheep, with a vast number of hogs, were purchased and sent out alive. Vegetables of all kinds were also bought up in incredible quantities, and new arts were employed in curing them. 10000 butts of strong beer, 5000 chaldrons of coals were purchased in the river, and shipped off for Boston; even the articles of faggots was sent from London. The seemingly trifling necessities of vegetables, casks, and vinegar, amount, in two distinct articles, where they are detached from the general comprehension of other provisions, near 2200l. And tho' there was but a single regiment of light cavalry at Boston, the articles of hay, oats, and beans, amounted to nearly as much. The immense charge of
 sup-

*Provisions
 shipped for
 Boston.*

1775.

supplying an army at such a distance, was now for the first time experimentally felt.

Whether it was, that these orders were not issued in time, or that delays, occurred in the execution, which could neither have been foreseen or prevented, however it was, the transports were not ready to proceed on their voyage. until the year was so far advanced as to render it nearly impossible. By this means they were detained upon our own coasts by contrary winds, or tost about by tempests, until the greater part of their live cargoes of hogs and sheep, particularly the latter perished, so that the channel was every where strewed with the floating carcasses of these animals, as they were driven about by the winds and tides. A great part of the vegetables, over fermented and perished.

Nor was the condition of the transports mended when they got clear of our own coasts. They were peculiarly unfortunate as to winds and weather in the mid seas, and as they approached to the place of their destination, the American periodical winds were set in, which blew in their teeth, and drove them off from the coasts.

CHAP. IX.

1775.

Motives which led to the invasion of Canada. The taking of several Forts on the Lakes, by Montgomery and Arnold. The city of Quebec besieged.

AS the hopes of a reconciliation with the mother country, upon the conditions claimed by the Americans, became more faint, so they grew more daring in their designs, and extended their views to the remote consequences, as well as to the immediate conduct of a war. The apparent tendency, and avowed design of the Quebec act, had early drawn their attention and awakened their apprehensions, in relation to the dangers with which they were threatened from that quarter. These apprehensions produced the address to the French inhabitants of Canada, of which we have formerly taken notice.

The success which attended the expedition to the Lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, in the beginning of this summer, by which, it might be said, that the Gates of Canada were thrown open, rendered the affairs of that country more immediately interesting, and encouraged the Congress to a bold measure, which they would not otherwise perhaps have ventured upon. This was no less than the sending of a force for the invasion and reduction of that country.

A measure of so extraordinary a nature required the most serious consideration. The commencing an offensive war with the Sovereign, was a new and perilous undertaking. It seemed totally to change the nature of the ground on which they stood in the present dispute. Opposition to government had hitherto been conducted on the apparent design and avowed principle only, of supporting and defend-

G g

ing

1775.

ing certain rights and immunities of the people, which were supposed, pretended, to be unjustly invaded. Opposition, or even resistance, in such a case, supposing the premises to be fairly stated, is thought by many to be entirely consistent with the principles of the British constitution; and this opinion is said to have received the sanction of precedents of the first authority. At any rate, the questions in dispute were of such a nature, that mankind might for ever be divided in opinion, as the matter of right or wrong, justice or injustice, oppression or good government. But to render themselves at once the aggressors, and not content with vindicating their own real or pretended rights, to fly wantonly in the face of the Sovereign, carry war into his dominions, and invade a province to which they could lay no claim, nor pretend no right, seemed such an outrage, as not only overthrew every play of justifiable resistance, but would militate with the established opinions, principles, and feelings of mankind in general.

On the other hand, the danger was pressing and great. The extraordinary powers placed in the hands of General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, by a late commission, were new, alarming, and evidently pointed out the purposes for which they were granted. By these he was authorized to embody and arm the Canadians, to march them out of the country for the subjugation of the other colonies, and to proceed even to capital punishments, against all those, and in all places, whom he should deem rebels and opposers of the laws. The strong powers of government which he also possessed within his province, were equal to those of the most arbitrary European Monarchs, and had been already felt both by the English and French subjects. Thus, though the Canadians had hitherto refused to be embodied, or to march upon any terms out of the province, it was easily seen, that as soon as the Governor's

1775.
vernor's authority was supported by the arrival of a body of English forces, they would be obliged implicitly to obey him, as well in that, as all other matters. He had besides, already engaged a considerable number of the Canada and other Indians in his service, and if his arms once became predominant, the desire of spoil and blood would bring them in crowds from the remotest desarts to his assistance. Besides they were perfectly acquainted with, and therefore had every thing to dread, from the zeal, the spirit of enterprize, and the military talents, of that able and resolute officer.

In these circumstances, considering a war as not only inevitable, but as already begun, they deemed it inconsistent with reason and policy, to wait to be attacked by a formidable force at their backs, in the very instant that their utmost exertions would be requisite, and probably insufficient, for the protection of their capital cities and coasts, against the resentment of the mighty power whom they had so grievously offended, and with whom they were entering into so untried and arduous a contest. They argued, that preventing the known hostile intentions of an enemy, by forestalling his designs ere they could be carried into execution, was as much a matter of self-defence, and less cruel, than waiting to be attacked by him under every disadvantage, and when he had arrived at his utmost force. There was no natural law, nor convention among mankind, by which a person is bound to be a simple and inactive looker-on, while his enemy was loading a gun for his destruction; was he to wait till the execution took place, for fear he should be deemed an aggressor! Questions in casuistry, however edifying upon other occasions, have nothing to do in circumstances upon which the fate of nations depend. Were they only to seek a remedy, when the savages had penetrated into their country, and the fury of the flames which consumed their settlements, were

1775. were only retarded by the blood of their women and infants,

The Congress were all sensible, that they had already gone such lengths as could only be justified by arms.—The sword was already drawn, and the appeal made. It was too late to look back, and to waver would be certain destruction. If a certain degree of success did not afford a sanction to their resistance, and dispose the court of Great Britain to an accommodation upon lenient terms, they would not only loose those immunities for which they at present contended, but all others would lie at the mercy of a jealous and irritated government. In such a state, their moderation in the single instance of Canada, they thought, would be a poor plea for compassion or indulgence.

The knowledge they had of the present state of affairs, and the temper of the people in Canada, also contributed much to encourage them in this enterprize. They knew that the French inhabitants, excepting the noblesse and clergy, were in general as much discontented at the overthrow of the English laws, and the introduction of the present system of government, as even the British settlers. It seemed therefore probable, that this discontent, operating with the rooted aversion which they bore to their ancient proud and oppressive tyrants, the noblesse, or lords of the manors and the mortal dread which they entertained of being again reduced to their former state of feudal and military vassalage, would induce them to consider the Provincials rather as friends than invaders, and to embrace so favourable an opportunity of obtaining a share in that freedom for which they were contending. Though they were perfectly unacquainted with the nature of the particular controversy, and little interested in it, it seemed to be for freedom, and American freedom, and the name of it

it was pleasing. It was in favour of colonies; and 1775.
Canada was a colony.

The congress accordingly determined not to lose the present favourable opportunity, while the British arms were weak and cooped up in Boston, for attempting the reduction of that province. The Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New-York militia, a body of New-England men, and some others, amounting in the whole to near 3000 men, were appointed to this service. A number of batteaux, or flat boats, were built at Ticonderoga or Crown Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the River Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada, and is composed of the surplus waters of the lakes, which it discharges into the river St. Lawrence, and would afford a happy communication between both, were it not for some rapids that obstruct the navigation.

Not above half the forces were yet arrived, when Montgomery, who was at Crown-Point, received some intelligence which rendered him apprehensive that a schooner of considerable force, with some other armed vessels, which lay at the Fort of St. John's, on the river Sorel, were preparing to enter the Lake, and thereby effectually obstruct their passage. He thereupon, in the latter end of August, proceeded with such force as he had to the isle of Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took necessary measures to guard against the passage of those vessels into the Lake.—Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having also arrived from Albany, they published a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them, and with the same hope or design, pushed on to the Fort of St. John, which lies only about a dozen miles from the island. The fire from the Fort, as well as the strong appearances of force and resistance which they observed, occasioned their landing at a considerable

Sept. 6t

1775.

considerable distance, in a country composed of thick woods, deep swamps, and intersected with creeks and waters. In this situation they were vigorously attacked by a considerable body of Indians, who did not neglect the advantages which they derived from it; along with which, finding that the Fort was well garrisoned and provided, they found it necessary the next day to return to their former station on the island, and to defer their operations until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which were expected.

Schuy-
ler re-
turns to
Albany.

Schuyler upon this retreat returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty which he had for some time been negotiating with the Indians in that quarter, and found himself afterwards so occupied by business, or broken in upon by illness, that the whole weight and danger of the Canada war fell upon Montgomery, a man most eminently qualified for any military service. His first measure was to detach those Indians who had joined General Carleton from his service, and being strengthened by the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to lay siege to the fort of St. John. This fort was garrisoned by the greater part of the 7th and 26th regiments being nearly all the regular troops then in Canada; and was well provided with stores, ammunition, and artillery.

Ethan
Allen
and his
party
made
prisoners.

The provincial parties were spread over the adjacent country, and were every where received with open arms by the Canadians, who besides joining them in considerable numbers, gave them every possible assistance, whether in carrying on the siege, removing their artillery, or supplying them with provisions and necessaries. In this state of things, the adventurer Ethan Allen, who without any commission from the Congress, had a principal share in the original expedition to the lakes, and the capture of forts, and who since, under the title of colonel, seems

seems rather to have acted as a partizan, than as obedient to any regular command, thought to signalize, and raise himself into importance, by surprising the town of Montreal. This rash enterprise he undertook at the head of a small party of English Provincials and Canadians, without the knowledge of the commander in chief, or the assistance which he might have procured, from some of the other detached parties. The event was suitable to the temerity of the undertaking. Being met at some distance from the town, by the militia, under the command of English officers, and supported by the few regulars who were in the place, he was defeated and taken prisoner, with near forty of his party, the rest who survived escaping in the woods. Allen, with his fellow prisoners, were by General Carleton's orders loaded with irons, and sent in that condition on board a man of war to England, from whence, however, they were in some time remanded back to America.

1775.

The progress of Montgomery was for some time retarded, by want of ammunition sufficient to carrying on a siege; which of all operations demands the greatest supply of powder and ball. The Fort of St. John's, which commands the entrance into Canada, could not be reduced without a tolerable provision of that kind. A fortunate event disengaged him from this difficulty. A little Fort called *Chamble* lay deeper in the country, and seemed covered by St. John's. It was garrisoned by a small detachment of the 7th regiment, and was in no very defensible condition. To this he turned his first thoughts, and by pushing forward a party joined by some Canadians, he easily made himself master of that fort. Here he found considerable stores; but the article of greatest consequence to him was the gunpowder, which they were much distressed for; and of which they took above 120 barrels.

Fort
Chamble
taken.

This

1775.

This acquisition facilitated the siege of St. John's, which had languished for want of ammunition.

Fort
St. John's
besieged.

Carle-
ton's de-
feat at
Longueil.

The garrison of St. John's, under the command of Major Freston, amounted to between 6 and 700 men, of which about 500 were regulars, and the rest Canadian volunteers. They endured the difficulties and hardships of a very long siege, augmented by a scarcity of provisions, with unabating constancy and resolution. In the mean time, Gen. Carleton was indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force sufficient for its relief. Attempts had been for some time made by Colonel M'Lean, for raising a Scotch regiment, under the title of Royal Highland Emigrants, to be composed of natives of that country who had lately arrived in America, and who in consequence of the troubles had not obtained settlements. With these, and some Canadians, to the amount of a few hundred men, the Colonel was posted near the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence. The General was at Montreal, where, with the greatest difficulty, and by every possible means he had got together near a thousand men, composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and some English officers and volunteers. With these he intended a junction with M'Lean, and then to have marched directly to the relief of St. John's. But upon his attempting to pass over from the island of Montreal, he was encountered at Longueil by a party of the Provincials, who easily repulsed the Canadians, and put a stop to the whole design. Another party had pushed M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians having received advice of the Governor's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was obliged to make the best of his way to Quebec, with the emigrants.

In the mean time, Montgomery pushed on the siege of St. John's with great vigour, had advanced his

his works very near the body of the fort, and was making preparations for a general assault. Nor was there less alacrity in the defence, the spirit as well as the fire of the garrison being equally supported to the last. In this state of things, an account of the success at Longueil, accompanied by the prisoners who were taken, arrived at the camp, upon which Montgomery sent a flag and a letter by one of them to Major Preston, hoping that as all means of relief were now cut off by the Governor's defeat, he would, by a timely surrender of the fort, prevent that farther effusion of blood, which a fruitless and obstinate defence must necessarily occasion.

1775.

The Major endeavoured to obtain a few days time in hopes of being relieved; but this was refused, on account of the lateness and severity of the season; he also endeavoured, in settling the terms of capitulation, to obtain liberty for the garrison to depart for Great-Britain, which proved equally fruitless, and they were obliged, after being allowed the honours of war on account of their brave defence, to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners. They were allowed their baggage and effects, the officers to wear their swords, and their other arms to be preserved for them till the troubles were at an end. In all transactions with our forces, Montgomery writ, spoke, and behaved with that attention, regard, and politeness, to both private men and officers, which might be expected from a man of worth and honour, who found himself involved in an unhappy quarrel with his friends and countrymen. All the prisoners were sent up the Lakes by the way of Ticonderago, to those interior parts of the colonies which were best adapted to provide for their reception and security. The Provincials found a considerable quantity of artillery and useful stores in the place.

Nov. 3d.

St. John's
taken.

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Upon

1775.

Upon M^cLean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that necessity, immediately erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence, in order to prevent the escape down the latter of a number of armed vessels, which General Carleton had at Montreal; they also constructed armed rafts and floating batteries for the same purpose. These measures effectually prevented the passage of General Carleton's armament to Quebec, which were not only foiled in several attempts, but pursued, attacked, and driven from their anchors up the river by the Provincials; so that as General Montgomery approached Montreal immediately after the surrender of St. John's, the Governor's situation, whether in the town or aboard the vessels, became equally critical.

*Montreal
taken.*

This danger was soon increased by the arrival of General Montgomery at Montreal, where a capitulation was proposed by the principal French and English inhabitants, including a kind of general treaty, which Montgomery refused, as they were in no state of defence to entitle them to a capitulation, and were unable to fulfil the conditions on their part. He, however, gave them a written answer, in which he declared, That the Continental army having a generous disdain of every act of oppression and violence, and having come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security, he, therefore, engaged his honour to maintain, in the peaceable possession of their property of every kind, the individuals and religious communities of the city of Montreal. He engaged for the maintenance of all the inhabitants in the free exercise of their religion; hoped that the civil and religious rights of all the Canadians would be established upon the most permanent footing by a Provincial Congress; promised that courts of justice should be speedily established upon the most liberal plan, conformable to the British

British Constitution; and, in general, complied with other articles, so far as they were consistent, and in his power. This security being given to the people, his troops took possession of the town.

1775.

Nothing could now afford the slightest hope of the preservation of any part of Canada but the late-riels of the season. Whether through inability for so great an enterprize, or from difference of opinion, the invasion of that province was not undertaken until the season for military operations was nearly passed. To balance this, there remained but an handful of regular troops in Canada, and the taking of General Carleton, which seemed nearly certain, would have rendered its fate inevitable. Fortune, however, determined otherwise, and at the time that all hopes of the armed vessels being able to get down the river were given up, and that Montgomery was preparing batteaux with light artillery at Montreal to attack them on that side, and force them down upon the batteries, means were successfully taken for conveying the Governor, in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, past the enemies guards and batteries, and he arrived safely at Quebec, which he found environed with danger from an unexpected quarter. As it was impracticable to save the ships, General Prescott was obliged to enter into a capitulation with the Provincials, by which the whole of the river naval force, consisting of eleven armed vessels, was surrendered into their hands, the General himself, with several other officers, some gentlemen in the civil department, Canadian volunteers, and near 120 English soldiers, all of whom had taken refuge on board upon the approach of General Montgomery to Montreal, becoming prisoners of war.

Carleton
retires to
Quebec.

Armed
vessels
surrender

Whilst the Provincials were thus carrying on the war in Upper Canada from the New-York side, and by the old beaten courie of the Lakes, an expedition,

Sep. 31st.

1775. *Col. Arnold's surprising expedition to Quebec, by land.* expedition, considerably distinguished by its novelty, spirit, enterprize, by the difficulties that opposed, and the constancy that succeeded in its execution, was undertaken directly against the lower part of the province and city of Quebec, from the New-England side, by a route which had hitherto been untried, and considered as impracticable. This expedition was undertaken by Colonel Arnold, who about the middle of September, at the head of two regiments, consisting of about 1100 men, marched from the camp near Boston, to Newbury-Port, at the mouth of the river Merrimack, where vessels were in readiness to convey them by sea to the mouth of the river Kennebec, in New-Hampshire; a voyage of about forty leagues.

On the 22d of the same month they embarked their stores and troops in 200 batteaux, at Gardiner's Town, on the Kennebec, and proceeded with great difficulty up that river, having a rapid stream, with a rocky bottom and shores, continually interrupted by falls and carrying places, with numberless other impediments to encounter. In this passage the batteaux were frequently filled with water, or overfet; in consequence of which a part of their arms, ammunition, and provisions were sometimes lost. At the numerous carrying places, besides the labour of loading and reloading, they were obliged to convey the boats on their shoulders. The great carrying place was about twelve miles across. That part of the detachment which was not employed in the batteaux, marched along the banks of the river, and the boats and men being disposed in three divisions, each division encamped together every night. Nor was the march by land more eligible than the passage by water. They had thick woods, deep swamps, difficult mountains, and precipices, alternately to encounter, and were at times obliged to cut their way for miles through the thickets. At the carrying places they were obliged to traverse the same ground several

several times heavy loaded. From all these impediments their progress was of course very slow, being in general only from 4 or 5 to 9 or 10 miles a day. The constant fatigue and labour caused many to fall sick, which added to their difficulties, and provisions grew at length so scarce, that some of the men eat their dogs, and whatever else of any kind that could be converted to food. 1775.

When they arrived at the head of the Kennebec, they sent back their sick, and one of the Colonels took that opportunity of returning with his division, under pretence of the scarcity of provisions, without the consent or knowledge of the Commander in Chief, who had marched forwards. By this desertion, and the sick that were returned, Arnold's detachment were reduced to about one third of its original number. They, however, proceeded with their usual constancy; and having crossed the heights of land, as a ridge that extends quite through the continent is called, and from whence the waters on either side, take courses directly contrary to those on the other, they at length arrived at the head of the river Chaudiere, which running through Canada, falls into the river St. Lawrence, near Quebec. Their difficulties were now growing to an end, and they soon approached the inhabited parts of Canada; on the 3d of November, a party which they had pushed forward returned with provisions and they soon after came to a house, being the first they had beheld for thirty-one days, having spent that whole time in traversing an hideous wilderness, without ever meeting any thing human. Nov. 3d.

Arnold
enters the
river St.
Law-
rence.

The Canadians received them here with the same good will that Montgomery's corps had experienced in the neighbourhood of Montreal; they supplied them liberally with provisions and necessaries, and rendered them every other assistance in their power. Arnold immediately published an address to the people

1775.

His Ad-
drefs to
the Ca-
nadian.

people signed by General Washington, of the same nature with that which had been before issued by Schuyler and Montgomery. They were invited to join with the other colonies in an indissoluble union. To range themselves under the standard of general liberty. They were informed, that the armament was sent into the province, not to plunder, but to protect and animate them; that they themselves were enjoined to act, and to consider themselves, as in the country of their best friends; they were requested, therefore, not to desert their habitations, nor fly from their friends; but to provide them with such supplies as their country afforded; and he pledged himself for their safety and security, as well as for an ample compensation.

State of
affairs at
Quebec.

The city of Quebec was at this time in a state of great weakness, as well as internal discontent and disorder. The British merchants and inhabitants had been long much disgusted and dissatisfied. Their opposition to the Quebec Act, and the petitions which they had sent to England upon that subject, had been grievously resented by their own government; and from that period, they had, as the discontented said, not only been slighted and treated with indifference; but even regarded with an apparent eye of distrust and suspicion. They complained, that as the great political object in that country, was to attach the native Canadians inviolably to government, so the French noblesse, and civil officers, became, excepting the British military, the only favourites; and these having soon acquired the manners and affectations of all other courtiers and favourites, passed no occasion to insult the English as malcontents, with the violence of their zeal, and the outrageousness of their loyalty. They represented, that these new courtiers industriously brought up questions upon public affairs, and discourses upon government in their company, and then construed that freedom of opinion, which the native

native English had derived from nature and habit, 1775. as well as from present discontent, as proceeding from real ill design and disaffection. There needs not a stronger proof how little they were trusted or regarded, than that when the troops were sent off to Montreal and the Sorel to oppose the rebels, notwithstanding the very alarming state of public affairs, and that the city, together with the large property which they possessed in it, were left exposed without a garrison; yet their application for leave to be embodied as a militia for its defence, so far from being complied with, was not even, as they affirmed, deemed worthy of an answer. How much of this representation was the mere effect of discontent, we cannot undertake to say. It is certain that great heartburnings and animosities prevailed among the English civil subjects and the military power in that government, which the Quebec act irritated and inflamed to a high degree.

Neither does it appear that any great reliance could be placed at that time upon the French inhabitants for the defence of the city. Many of them were at least wavering, and some worse. As to other matters, there were no troops of any sort in the place, until M'Lean's handful of new raised emigrants arrived from the Sorrel. Some marines which the Governor had sent for Boston, were refused by a naval council of war, from the lateness of the season, and the danger of the navigation. The militia, however, had been lately embodied by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Such was the state of affairs at Quebec, when Nov. 9th. Arnold and his party appeared at Point Levi, opposite the town. The river was fortunately between them, and the boats secured, otherwise it seems highly probable that they would have become masters of the place in the first surprise and confusion. This defect was indeed remedied in a few days by the

Arnold
appears
before
Quebec.

1775.

the alacrity of the Canadians, who supplied them with canoes, and they effected their passage in a dark night, notwithstanding the vigilance of the armed vessels and frigates of war in the river. But the critical moment was now passed. The discontented inhabitants, English and Canadians, as soon as danger pressed, united for their common defence. They became seriously alarmed for the immense property which Quebec contained. They desired to be, and were, embodied and armed. The sailors had landed, and were at the batteries to serve the guns, the defenders were considerably superior in number to the assailants, and Arnold had no artillery. In these circumstances, his only hope must have been the defection of the inhabitants; and disappointed in that, nothing remained practicable for him, but intercepting the roads, and cutting off the supplies, until the arrival of Montgomery. He accordingly paraded for some days on the heights near the town, and sent two flags to summon the inhabitants; but they were fired at, and no message admitted; upon which, he at length drew off his detachment into quarters of refreshment.

In the mean time, Montgomery having found plenty of woollen manufactures, and other articles of wear, at Montreal, took that opportunity of new-cloathing his troops, who had suffered excessively from the severity of the climate, the deepness of the roads, and the want of covering suitable to such circumstances. Notwithstanding the flattering appearance of his successes, the situation of that commander was far from being enviable; and indeed was attended with continual and growing difficulties, that nothing less than his own genius could surmount. The difficulty of conducting and governing an army, composed wholly of new soldiers, and these led directly from their civil occupations to the field, even supposing them raised in old countries, and where subordination is the most perfectly establish-

established, will be conceived by those persons who are the most conversant in military affairs. But here the troops were composed of men the most unused, and who from principles, habits, and manner of life, were the most averse to every idea of subordination, of any civilized people in the known world; they were to be trained on through numberless wants and distresses, through strange and desert countries, and when arrived at the scene of action, with arms in their hands, in all the wantonness of military parade, their wants were to be endured, their appetites restrained, and their licentiousness controuled, for fear of alienating the affections of the Canadians, while every appearance of a harsh or strict military discipline was equally to be avoided, under the dread of their own defection. They were besides only enlisted for a certain short term, according to the usual practice of the colonies; and as the time of their discharge now drew near, there was nothing but the name of their leader, and affection to his person, to keep them longer together.

1775.

General Carleton arrived at Quebec about the time that Arnold's detachment had retired from its neighbourhood, and immediately took such measures for its defence, as were suitable to that military character which he had long established. His first act was to oblige all those to quit the town with their families, who refused to take up arms in its defence. The garrison, including all others who did duty, consisted of about 1500 men, a number, supposing them even the best troops, totally unequal to the defence of such extensive works, if an equal weakness had not prevailed on the side of the besiegers. Of these, it could scarcely be said that any were regulars, M'Lean's corps being newly raised, and the only company of the 7th regiment which had escaped being taken, consisting principally of recruits; the rest were composed of the British and

1775. French militia, a few marines, and about 450 seamen, belonging to the King's frigates, and to the merchant ships that wintered in the harbour. These last, habituated to the management of great guns, and to prompt manœuvres were the real strength of the garrison.

Is joined
by Gen.
Montgo-
mery.

Montgomery, having left some troops in Montreal and the forts, and sent detachments into different parts of the province, to encourage the Canadians, as well as to forward supplies of provisions and necessaries, pushed on with as many men as could be spared from these services, and such artillery as he could procure, to join Arnold. Their march was in winter; through bad roads, in a severe climate; beneath the fall of the first snows, and therefore made under great hardships; which, however, they encountered with equal resolution; and arrived with incredible expedition at Quebec.

Dec. 5th

The city
summon-
ed.

Upon their arrival before the town, Montgomery wrote a letter to the Governor, magnifying his own strength, stating the weakness of the garrison, shewing the impossibility of relief, and recommending an immediate surrender, to avoid the dreadful consequences which must attend a storm, irritated, as he said, his victorious troops were, at the injurious and cruel treatment which they had in various particulars received at his hands. Though the flag that conveyed this letter, as well as every other was fired at, and all communication absolutely forbidden by the Governor, Montgomery, found other means to convey a letter of the same nature; but neither threats nor dangers could produce any effect upon the inflexible firmness of the veteran Governor.

It does not appear that Montgomery's forces were very much superior in number or quality, to those, such as they were, who defended the town.

His

His only prospect of success seemed therefore to be founded upon the impression which the parade of his preparations, and the violence of his attacks might make upon the motley garrison, or if those failed, to weary them out by continual motions and false alarms. He accordingly commenced a bombardment, with five small mortars, which continued for some days, and might have been supposed to have answered the former of those intentions, by throwing the garrison into disorder; but the intrepidity of the Governor, seconded by the bravery, indefatigable industry and perseverance of the chief officers, as well as the activity of the seamen and marines, prevented the expected effect. We must do justice also to the garrison in general, who nobly followed the example, and supported the bravery of their commanders, and endured the inconveniences, wants and distresses, incident to so long a siege, joined to a most grievously severe and unremitted duty, with wonderful constancy and resolution.

1775.

Siege.

In a few days Montgomery opened a six-gun battery at about 700 yards distance from the walls; but his metal was too light to produce any considerable effect. In the mean time the snow lay deep upon the ground, and the severity of the climate was such, that human nature seemed incapable of withstanding its force in the field. The hardships and fatigues which the Provincial soldiers underwent, both from the season, and the smallness of their number, seemed incredible, and could only be endured from their enthusiastic adherence to their cause, and through the affection or esteem which they bore to their General. This constancy must however fail, if the evils were increased, or too long continued. The time for which many of the soldiers had engaged was also expired, or expiring; and it could not be answered how soon they might insist upon returning home, nor whether such an event would not totally break up the
little

1775.

little army. It is said, that the New-York men were too sensible of the climate, and did not shew the vigour or perseverance of those hardy New-Englanders who had traversed the deserts with Arnold.

Attempt
to take
Quebec
by escal-
ade.

In these circumstances, Montgomery thought that something decisive must immediately be done, or that the benefit of his past successes would, in a great degree, be lost to the cause in which he was engaged, and his own renown, which now shone in great lustre, be dimmed, if not obscured. He knew the Americans would consider Quebec as taken from the instant that they had heard of his arrival before it. That the higher their expectations were raised, the more grievous the disappointment would be in case of a failure. Their confidence of success was founded upon the high opinion which they held of his courage and ability; to forfeit that opinion, was the worst of all possible consequences. Yet, to attempt the city by storm, with a garrison equal in number to the assailants, and the great natural strength of the upper town to encounter, which is one of those places that are usually called impregnable, seemed an effort truly desperate. But great minds are seldom good calculators of danger; and if the glory in view be great, do not minutely attend to the difficulties which lie in their way to that object. Indeed, the most illustrious military achievements, in all ages, have owed their success to a noble contempt of common forms, and common calculations. Fortune, in contempt of the pride of man, ever was, and ever will be, the great arbiter in war. Upon the whole, Montgomery, depending much upon fortune, and not a little upon the nature and disposition of the garrison, determined upon a desperate attempt to carry the place by escalade.

Whilst

Whilst he was making the necessary preparations ^{1775.} for this purpose, it is said the garrison received intelligence of it by some deserters, and that he perceived, by their motions, that they were not only acquainted with the general design, but with the particular mode of carrying it into execution, which they were accordingly preparing with the utmost vigour and order to oppose. This untoward circumstance, rendered a total change in his original dispositions necessary, and it is not impossible, that this disarrangement had a considerable influence on the succeeding events. However that was, early in the morning, on the last day of the year 1775, and under the cover of a violent snow storm, he proceeded to this arduous attempt. He had disposed of his little army in four divisions, of which two carried on false attacks against the upper town, whilst himself and Arnold conducted two real against opposite parts of the lower. By this means the alarm was general in both towns, and might have disconcerted the most experienced troops: from the side of the river St. Lawrence, along the fortified front, and round to the Basin, every part seemed equally threatened, if not equally in danger.

About five o'clock, Montgomery, at the head of the New-York troops, advanced against the lower town, at Aunee de Mere, under Cape Diamond; but from some difficulties which intervened in his approach, the signal for engaging had been given, and the garrison alarmed, before he could reach the place. He however pressed on in a narrow file, upon a scanty path, with a precipice to the river on one side, and an hanging rock over him; seized and passed the first barrier, and accompanied by a few of his bravest officers and men, marched boldly at the head of the detachment to attack the second. This barrier was much stronger than the first. Several cannon were there planted, loaded with grape shot. From these, as well as from a well-directed and

1775. and supported fire of musquetry, an end was at once put to the hopes of this enterprizing officer, and to the fortune of his party in Canada. The General himself, with his Aid de Camp, some other officers, and most of those who were near his person, fell upon the spot.* The command devolved upon

Montgo-
mery kil-
led.

Character * Thus fell RICHARD MONTGOMERY, Esq; who was a gentleman of excellent family of the North of Ireland, and brother to *Alex. Montgomery*, Esq; one of the present knights of the shire for the county of Donegal. Both these gentlemen served their country; in the late wars, under General Wolfe, with the greatest military abilities; and about the year 1763, the present survivor of the two, threw up his commission under L. T. to have an opportunity of adjusting a certain affair of honor, wherein he thought himself slighted by the preferring of a junior officer to a rank he should have succeeded to. The constituents of the county of Donegal, in testimony of their entire approbation of his martial conduct, generously presented him with his seat in parliament, for that county, at the late general election. free of all expence, where he has now an opportunity of shining with equal lustre in the cabinet, that he formerly did in the field.

The excellency of *Richard's* qualifications and disposition (who thus fell in the prime of life) had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities had of public esteem; and there was probably no man engaged on the same side, and few on either, whose loss would have been so much regretted both in England and America. He is represented as a real and eager lover of Liberty; and having married a Lady, and purchased an estate in New-York, was from thence induced to consider himself as an American. Thus, say his friends, he was led by principle, to quit the sweets of an easy fortune, the enjoyment of a loved and philosophical rural life, with the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in all the miseries and dangers of the present troubles. He had undoubtedly considerable, and probably great, military abilities; and it remains to be lamented, that a man who seemed so well formed to support the interests and glory of his country against her natural foes, should have perished in an unnatural and most unhappy civil contest. In America, he was revered as a martyr, to the cause of human nature, and the liberties of mankind. What was more extraordinary, the most powerful speakers in the British parliament displayed their eloquence in praising his virtues and lamenting his fate. A great orator, and veteran fellow-soldier

upon a Mr. Campbell, who immediately retired 1775.
without any further effort. Whether he yielded
too easily to the first impression, as the Americans
asserted, it is impossible for those who are not per-
fectly acquainted with all the particulars to deter-
mine.

Camp-
bell re-
treats.

In the mean time, Arnold, with a body of those
troops who had originally signalized themselves by
the memorable expedition under his command into
Canada, supported by some New-York artillery,
made their attempt on that part of the town called
the Saut au Matelot, and having penetrated through
St. Rôques, they attacked a small but well defend-
ed battery, which they carried with considerable
loss, after an hour's sharp engagement. They had
likewise the fortune upon this occasion to be left
without a commander; for Arnold's leg being shat-
tered by a shot, he was necessarily carried off to the
camp. His place was, however, well supplied by
the goodness of the officers, and the resolution of
the men; who being ignorant of Montgomery's
misfortune, were so far from being dispirited by
their own, that they pushed on with great vigour,
and made themselves masters of another barrier.

Arnold
supports
the siege.

Arnold
wounded.

The garrison now being recovered from their
surprize, and their hands cleared in all other quar-
ters,

soldier of his in the late war, shed abundance of tears, whilst he
expatiated on their fast friendship and participation of service
in that season of enterprize and glory. Even the minister ex-
toll'd his virtues, while he condemned the rebellious cause they
were employed in, and the fatal effects which their mistaken
application had produced.

All enmity to this veteran soldier expired with his life, and re-
spect to his private character prevailed over all other considera-
tions. By the orders of General Carleton, his dead body re-
ceived every possible mark of distinction from the victors, and
was interred in Quebec, on the 1st day of Jan. 1776, with all
the military honours due to a brave soldier.

1775.



ters, had time to attend to the situation of Arnold's division, and to perceive the opportunity which was offered of cutting them off. Their situation was such, that in attempting a retreat, they must pass for a considerable way within fifty yards of the walls, exposed to the whole fire of the garrison. To render their fate inevitable, a considerable detachment, with several field pieces, issued through a gate which commanded that passage, and attacked them furiously in the rear, whilst they were already fully occupied in every other part, by the troops which now poured upon them from all quarters. In these desperate circumstances, without a possibility of escape, attacked on all sides, and under every disadvantage of ground as well as number, they obstinately defended themselves for three hours, and at length surrendered prisoners of war.

The prisoners were treated with the greatest humanity by General Carleton; a conduct, which the habitual military severity of his temper, rendered the more honourable. It appears by comparing different circumstances previous and subsequent to this engagement, that the rebels, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not lose fewer than half their number; and a letter from Arnold, written soon after, states their remaining force at only 700 men.

The Governor and officers acquired great and deserved honour by this defence, and the behaviour of the raw garrison would have done credit to veterans. It afforded an instance, how far the conduct and example of a few brave and experienced officers might operate, in rendering the rawest and worst formed troops respectable. Indeed, the emulation arising between the different orders of men which composed the garrison, probably converted an apparent weakness into a real strength.

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Major-General Arnold
Wounded Dec 31-1775 at the attack of Quebec.

The besiegers immediately quitted their camp, and retired about three miles from the city, where they strengthened their quarters in the best manner they were able, being apprehensive of a pursuit and attack from the garrison. The latter, however, though now superior in number, were unfit for a service of that nature, and their able Governor, with a degree of wisdom and sobriety equal to his intrepidity and firmness, contented himself with the unexpected advantage and security he had gained, without hazarding the fate of the province, and perhaps of America, in any rash enterprize. The city was now completely out of danger, and the great succours which were expected, could not fail to relieve the whole province.

1775.

Provincials retire from before the walls.

By the death of Montgomery, the command of the American army devolved upon Arnold,* whose wound rendered him, for the present, unequal to so arduous a task. Their perseverance was, however, astonishing in their circumstances. They had lost besides their General, (in whom it might be said all their hopes and confidence resided) the best of their officers, and the bravest of their fellows, with a part of their small artillery. The hope of assistance was distant, and at best, the arrival of succours must be slow. It was well known that the Canadians, besides being naturally quick and fickle in their resolutions, were peculiarly disposed to be biassed by success, so that their assistance now grew extremely precarious. The severity of a Canada winter, was also far beyond any thing they were ac-

K k

quainted

* It is unnecessary here to trouble the reader with any detached account of this gentleman. His character as a soldier, (if not sufficiently delineated in this wonderful expedition of his to Canada to stamp his fame,) fully opens itself in the succeeding campaigns of these unhappy troubles, where we see this brave American, animated with the love of his country, and in support of what he calls her rights and liberties, always foremost in every perilous attempt to her rescue.

1775. acquainted with, and the snow lay above four feet deep upon a level. In these circumstances, it required no small share of activity, as well as address, to keep them in any manner together. Arnold, who had hitherto displayed uncommon talents in his march into Canada, (which may be compared to the greatest things done in that kind) discovered on this occasion the utmost vigour of a determined mind, and a genius full of resources. Defeated and wounded as he was, he put his troops into such a situation as to keep them still formidable. He dispatched an express to Wooster, who was at Montreal, to bring succours, and to assume the command; but as this could not be done immediately, he bore up with the force he had against the difficulties with which he was surrounded. From that time, the siege was for some months converted into a blockade, and Arnold found means effectually to obstruct the arrival of any supplies of provisions or necessaries in the town.

C H A P. X.

Transactions in the provinces of Virginia, the North and South Carolinas, with the general occurrences of other colonies in the year 1775.

DURING these proceedings in Canada, a long course of jealousy, distrust, suspicion, and altercation, between the Governor, and the major part of the governed, in the colony of Virginia, finally terminated in open hostility, and a ruinous, intestinal, and predatory war. These unhappy effects arose (as is too frequently the case) from a cause apparently unimportant; but as the heat of controversy nourished the quarrel, so mutual distrust and apprehension supplied the place of an object.

1775.

Virginia.

The people of that colony, as we have formerly shewn, had been at least as forward as any other, in all the common acts, of sending Delegates to the General Congress, acceding to its decrees, under whatever form or title they issued, and in the instituting of committees, and the entering into associations, among themselves. They were also among the freest in expressing their resolution, and the readiest in shewing their determination, to support at all risques and events, what they deemed, or termed, the rights of America. But in other respects, the greatest order and quiet was preserved in that province; and notwithstanding the uneasiness excited by the prorogation or dissolution of their assemblies, and the consequent expiration of their militia laws, (which, in a country where a great majority of the people are in a state of slavery, was a circumstance of the most alarming nature, and which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences) yet with these causes of complaint, the people seemed to pay a more

1775. more than common degree of attention and personal regard to the Earl of Dunmore, their Governor.

Provincial congress meet.

Mar. 6th

Militia embodied.

In this state of things, however, the want of a legal assembly, seemed to give some sanction to the holding of a convention, a Provincial Congress was assembled in the month of March, 1775, who immediately (under the cover of an old law of the year 1738, which they said to be still effective) took measures for arraying the militia; but to supply in some degree those defects in that law, to remedy which, as they pretended, all subsequent ones had been passed, they recommended to each county to raise a volunteer company, for the better defence and protection of the country.

Ap. 20th

Powder removed from the magazine at Williamsburg.

This interference in the militia, probably alarmed the Governor, and seems to have been the cause, that rendered the public magazine belonging to the colony in the capital city of Williamsburgh, an object of his apprehension. However that was, he soon afterwards employed the Captain of an armed vessel, which lay at a few miles distance in James River, with a detachment of marines, to convey the powder, by night, from the magazine on board his ship.

Consequences thereof.

Though this measure was conducted with great privacy, it was by some means discovered the ensuing morning, when the apparent secrecy, and seeming mysteriousness, of the act, increased the consternation and alarm among the inhabitants, who immediately assembled with such arms as they had at hand, with an intention of demanding, or, perhaps, obtaining, restitution of the gun-powder. The Mayor and corporation, however, prevented their proceeding to any extremities, whilst they presented an address to the Governor, stating the injury, reclaiming the powder as a matter of right, and shewing

ing the dangers to which they were peculiarly liable from the insurrection of their slaves; a calamity, which had for some time been particularly apprehended, and which the removal of their only means of defence, would at any time have accelerated. 1775.

His Lordship acknowledged, that the gun-powder had been removed by his order; said, that as he had heard of an insurrection in a neighbouring country, and did not think it secure in the magazine, he had it conveyed to a place of perfect security; but gave his word, that whenever an occasion rendered it necessary, it should be immediately returned. He also said, that it had been removed in the night to prevent giving alarm; expressed great surprize at the people's assembling in arms; and observed that he could not think it prudent to put powder into their hands in such a situation.

Whatever satisfaction this answer might have afforded to the magistrates, they prevailed on the people to retire quietly to their houses, without any remarkable outrage, that we can learn, having been committed; indeed it appeared, from depositions afterwards taken by order of the assembly, that the officers of the men of war on that station, and particularly the gentleman who might be supposed to have rendered himself obnoxious by removing the powder, appeared publicly in the streets during the time of the greatest commotion, without their receiving the smallest insult. A report, being, however, spread in the evening, that detachments from the men of war were upon their march to the city, the people again took to their arms, and continued all night upon the watch, as if in expectation of an attack from an enemy. They also from this time increased their night patrols, and shewed an evident design to protect the magazine from any further attempts.

The

1775.

The whole value of the powder and arms in the magazine, or any purpose to which they were capable of being converted, either in the hands of friends or enemies, seemed very inadequate to the alarm, suspicion, and disturbance, which this measure excited. The quantity of powder removed amounted only to fifteen half barrels, containing fifty pounds each, of a very ordinary sort, and the remaining stock left behind in the magazine, to about six of the same kind; neither does it appear that the number of serviceable muskets was sufficient to answer any essential purpose, or even to justify apprehension, and the caution of stripping these of their locks, only marked the suspicion from which it proceeded. A considerable quantity of old arms, and common trading guns, were not meddled with. Upon the whole, this act derived its only importance, from time, manner, and circumstance.

The Governor seems to have been exceedingly irritated at the behaviour of the people in these commotions, and perhaps resented too highly, for such times, their assembling in arms, not only without, but with an evident intention to oppose his authority. In this warmth of temper some threats were thrown out, which upon a cooler reflection would probably have been avoided. Among these, a threat of setting up the royal standard, of enfranchizing the negroes, arming them against their masters, and destroying the city, with other expressions of a similar nature and tendency, not only spread a general alarm throughout the colony, but excited a kind of abhorrence of government, and an incurable suspicion of its designs.

Assembly convened.

In the mean time, several public meetings were held in different counties, in all of which, the measure of seizing and removing the powder, as well as the Governor's threats, were reprobated in the strongest terms. Some of the gentlemen of Han-
over,

over, and other of the neighbouring counties, were not, however, satisfied with simple declarations. They assembled in arms to a considerable number, under the conduct of a Mr. Henry, who was one of the Provincial Delegates to the General Congress, and marched towards Williamsburgh, with an avowed design, not only to obtain restitution of the gun-powder, but to take such effectual measures for securing the public treasury, as should prevent its experiencing a similar fate with the magazine. A negotiation was, however, entered into with the magistrates, when they had arrived within a few miles of the city, in which it was finally settled, that the Receiver-General of the colony's security, for paying the value of the gun-powder, should be accepted as a restitution, and that upon the inhabitants engaging for the future, effectually to guard both the treasury and magazine, the insurgents should return to their habitations.

1775.

Armed
force
headed
by a Mr
Henry.

The alarm of this affair, induced Lady Dunmore, with the Governor's family to retire on board the Fowey man of war in James River, whilst his Lordship, with the assistance of a detachment of marines, converted his palace into a little garrison, fortified it in the best manner he was able, and surrounded it with artillery. A proclamation from the Governor and Council, in which Henry and his followers were charged with rebellious practices, in extorting the value of the powder from the Receiver-General, and the present commotions were attributed to disaffection in the people, and a desire of changing the established form of government, served only to afford more room for altercation, and to increase the heat and discontent. Several county meetings were held, Henry's conduct vindicated and applauded, and resolutions passed, that at the risque of every thing dear, he and his followers should be indemnified from all suffering, loss and injury, upon that account. The charge of disaffection was peremptorily

Governor's
proclamation
against
Henry.

His conduct
approved
of by the
people.

1775.

torily denied, and those of changing the form of government, and causing the present troubles, retorted. They insisted that they wanted nothing but to preserve their ancient constitution, and only opposed innovations, and that all the disturbances sprung from the Governor's late conduct.

Appear-
ance of
certain
letters
increase
the fer-
ment.

As there are times when all circumstances seem to conspire, towards the nourishment and increase of political, as well as natural disorders, so it appeared now in Virginia, every thing tending to one common center of distrust, jealousy, and discontent. The copies of some letters from the Governor to the Minister of the American department, were by some means procured, and public and severe censures passed upon them, as containing not only unfavourable, but unfair and unjust representations, as well of facts, as of the temper and disposition of the colony. Thus one distrust begot another, until all confidence being totally lost on both sides, every false report that was circulated, was believed on either, and served for its time to keep up the public fever.

June 1st.

General
Assem-
bly con-
vened by
the Gov.
and con-
ciliatory
motion
proposed.

In this state of commotion and disorder, upon the arrival of dispatches from England, the General Assembly was suddenly and unexpectedly convened by the Governor. The grand motive for this measure, was to procure their approbation and acceptance of the terms, included in Lord North's *Conciliatory Motion*, * and the parliamentary resolutions founded thereupon. His Lordship accordingly in his

* In last Feb. 1775, while all parties pursued their debates with much eagerness and animosity, and nothing but defiance was hurled at America on the part of Government, Lord North at the head of administration amazed all parties, and seemed for a time almost to dissolve his own, by that famous *conciliatory motion* with respect to America, which was then, and has been since, the subject of so much discussion on both sides of the Atlantick. The motion was for passing the following

his speech, used his utmost address to carry this favourite point; he stated the favourable disposition of parliament, as well as of government, towards the colonies; the moderation, equity, and tenderness, which induced the present advances towards a happy reconciliation; he dwelt upon the justice of their contributing to the common defence, and bearing an equitable proportion of the public burthens; observed, that as no specific sum was demanded, they had an opportunity of giving a free scope to their justice and liberality, and that whatever they gave, would be a free gift, in the fullest sense of the terms; that they would thus shew their reverence for parliament, and manifest their duty and attachment to the Sovereign; and the kindness with which it would be taken, that they met, on their side, the favourable disposition shewn on the other, towards bringing the present unhappy disputes to a period. He also took pains to convince them, from the proceedings and resolutions of parliament, that a full redress of all their real grievances, would be the immediate consequence of their compliance.

1775.

lowing resolution.—“ That when the governor, council
 “ and assembly, or general court of his Majesty's provinces or
 “ colonies, in North America, shall propose to make provision,
 “ according to their respective conditions, circumstances and
 “ situations, for contributing their proportion to the common
 “ defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of
 “ the general court, or general assembly of such province or co-
 “ lony and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make
 “ provision also for the support of the civil government, and
 “ the administration of justice in such province and colony, it
 “ will be proper, if such proposal should be approved of by his
 “ Majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall
 “ be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province
 “ or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to im-
 “ pose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such du-
 “ ties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of
 “ government; the *net* produce of the duties last mentioned,
 “ to be carried to the account of such province, colony or
 “ plantation respectively.” This motion after undergoing
 many scrutinies and altercations in a very full house, passed, by
 a majority of 278 to 88.

Lord
North's
concilia-
tory mo-
tion.

1775.
 Magazine
 rifled.

The first act of the assembly, was the appointment of a committee to enquire into the causes of the late disturbances, and particularly to examine the state of the magazine, that necessary measures might accordingly be taken for its replenishment. Though the magazine was the property of the colony, it was in the custody of the Governor, who appointed a keeper, so that an application to him for admittance was necessary. During an altercation which arose upon this subject, and before the order for admittance was obtained, some people of the town and neighbourhood broke into the magazine, and carried off some of the arms; several members of the House of Burgesses, however, used their personal interest and application in getting as many of them as they could returned. It appeared by the report of the Committee, that they found most of the remainder of the powder buried in the magazine yard, where it had been deposited by the Governor's orders, and suffered considerable damage from the rain; the depriving the muskets of their locks was also now discovered, as well as the nakedness and insufficiency of the magazine in all respects. Among other matters which served to irritate the people, was the planting of spring-guns in the magazine, (without giving any public notice of such a mode of security) and some effect they had taken at the time of the late depredations.

June 8th.

Lord
Dunmore
 retires on
 board a
 ship of
 war.

Whilst the Governor's speech, with the propositions which it recommended, were yet under the consideration of the assembly, and before their address was determined upon, his Lordship, with his lady and family, quitted the palace privately, and suddenly, at night, and retired on board of the Fowey man of war, which then lay near York town, on the river of the same name. He left a message for the House of Burgesses, acquainting them, that he thought it prudent to retire to a place of safety, as he was fully persuaded, that both himself and his family

family were in constant danger of falling sacrifices to the blind and unmeasurable fury of the people; that so far from intending to interrupt their sitting, he hoped they would successfully proceed in the great business before them; that he would render the communication between him and the House as easy and as safe as possible; and that he supposed it would be more agreeable to them to send some of their members to him as occasion should require, than to have the trouble of removing their whole body to a nearer place. He assured them, that he should attend as usual to the duties of his office, and of his good disposition to restore that harmony which had been so unhappily interrupted.

1775.

This message produced a joint address from the Council and House of Burgesses; declaring their unbelief that any persons in that province, would meditate so horrid and atrocious a crime as his Lordship apprehended; lamenting that he had not acquainted them with the ground of his uneasiness before he had adopted this measure, as they would have used all possible means to have removed every cause of his disquietude; they feared that this removal from the seat of government would be a means of increasing the uneasiness which unhappily prevailed among the people; declared that they would cheerfully concur in any measure which he should propose for the security of himself and his family; observing how impracticable it would be to carry on the business of the session with any degree of propriety and dispatch, whilst he was at such a distance, and so inconveniently situated. They concluded by intreating his return, with his lady and family, to the palace, which would afford great public satisfaction, and be the likeliest means of quieting the minds of the people.

Report
from the
Commit-
tee of
Enquiry.

Lord Dunmore returned a written answer, in which he justified his apprehensions of danger, from the public

June 10.

1775.

Refusal
of the
Govern-
or to go
on shore
to pass
the bills.

public notoriety of the commotions among the people, as well as of the threats and menaces with which they were attended; besides complaints of the general conduct and disposition of the House of Burgeſſes, he ſpecified ſeveral charges againſt that body; that they had countenanced the violent and diſorderly proceedings of the people, particularly with reſpect to the magazine, which was forced and riſſed in the preſence of ſome of the members; that inſtead of the commitment of thoſe perſons who had been guilty of ſo daring and heinous an offence, they only endeavoured to procure a reſtitution of the arms. That the Houſe, or its Committee, had ventured on a ſtep fraught with the moſt alarming conſequences, in appointing guards, without his approbation or conſent, under pretence of protecting the magazine, ſhewed thereby a deſign of uſurping the executive power, and of ſubverting the conſtitution.

He obſerved, that no means could be effectual for affording the ſecurity which they propoſed to concur in, but, by reſtating him in the full powers of his office, by opening the courts of juſtice, and reſtoring the energy of the laws; by diſarming all independent companies, or other bodies of men, raiſed and acting in defiance of legal authority; by obliging the immediate return of the King's arms and ſtores; and by what was not leſs eſſential than any other matter, their own example, and their endeavours to remove that general deluſion which kept the minds of the people in a continual ferment, and thereby to abolish that malice and ſpirit of perſecution, which now operated ſo dangerously againſt all thoſe, who from duty and affection to their King and country, oppoſed the preſent meaſures, and who from principle and conviction differed with the multitude in political opinion. That theſe were the means to afford the ſecurity requiſite for all parties; and that, for the accompliſhment of

of those ends, together with the great object and necessary business of the session, he should have no objection to their adjourning to the town of York, where he would meet them, and remain till the business was finished. 1775.

He concluded by representing, that unless they had a sincere and active desire of seizing the opportunity which was now offered by parliament, of establishing the freedom of their country upon a fixed and known foundation, and of uniting themselves with their fellow-subjects of Great-Britain in one common bond of interest and mutual assistance, his return to Williamsburgh would be as fruitless to the people, as it might possibly be dangerous to himself; but that if their proceedings manifested that happy disposition, he would return with the greatest joy, and consider it as the most fortunate event of his life, if they gave him an opportunity to be an instrument of promoting their happiness, and of being a successful mediator between them and the supreme authority.

The mollifying terms of the conclusion, were by no means equal to the removal of the acrimony excited by those severe charges and implications, which were contained in the foregoing parts of this long message. It accordingly produced a reply of an uncommon length, under the form of an address, which was fraught with all the bitterness of recrimination, as well as with defensive arguments, and an examination of facts. The House had now received the report of its Committee relative to the causes of the late disturbances, backed by the depositions of a number of British merchants, who were resident in different and remote parts of the Colony, all whose testimony tended to shew the general tranquility which prevailed previous to the late affair of the powder, and the Governor's declaration relative to the slaves, the latter of which, so

The Assembly
address
the Gov.
on his
refusal.

1775. so far as it was believed, having particularly irritated the people; that notwithstanding, quiet and order was soon every where restored, and still continued; that there was a general acquiescence every where in the determinations of the General and Provincial Congress; but they all concurred in believing, that the people had no design or wish of an independency on Great-Britain; and some, that on the contrary, they had a most eager desire for such a connection, as it stood before the late acts of parliament; they were unanimous in their opinion, that a redress of the grievances complained of, would establish a perfect tranquility, and produce a reconciliation with the parent state.

To refute the charges or insinuations of disaffection and disloyalty, the House of Burgesses took a retrospective view of the behaviour of the people, and of several transactions in the colony, for some years back; they stated the happiness which they derived under the conduct of former Governors, as a strong contrast to the present situation; they attributed that happiness, particularly in a very late instance, to the discountenancing of tale-bearers and malicious informers, to a proper examination of every subject, and the taking of nothing upon trust; and, finally, to the transmitting home a faithful representation of things in the colony. They stated their former conduct and behaviour with respect to his Lordship, and observed, that changes seldom happened without some difficult cause; that respect was not to be obtained by force from a free people; that nothing was so likely to insure it, as dignity of character, a candid and exemplary conduct. That they did not mean to insinuate his Lordship would, designedly, misrepresent facts; but that it was much to be feared, he too easily gave credit to designing persons, who, to the great injury of the community, possessed much too large a share of his confidence.

They

They controverted the facts, and examined, with great severity, the representations and charges contained in those two letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, which we have already taken notice of; these they represented as exceedingly injurious and unjust, as founded on misconception, misinformation, the height of colouring, the mistating, or the assumption of facts, without evidence. They then proceeded to justify the steps which had been taken with regard to the militia; their supposed countenance to the acts done concerning the magazine, and the other matters which first excited, and afterwards inflamed, the controversy. 1775.

The House of Burgesses also presented their address in answer to the Governor's speech, in which they entered into a long discussion of the proposition contained in the parliamentary resolution, founded upon Lord North's conciliatory motion. This they combated upon the same grounds, and with a variety of arguments of the same nature, that we have formerly stated; and they ultimately declared, that as it only changed the form of oppression, without lessening its burthen, they could not close with its terms. They observed, however, that these were only offered as the sentiments of an individual part of the whole empire; and for a final determination, they referred the affair to the General Congress, before whom they would lay the papers. To them also they referred the discovery of that proper mode of representing their well-founded grievances, which his Lordship assured them, would meet with the attention and regard so justly due to them. For themselves, they made the following declaration: "We have exhausted every mode of application which our invention could suggest, as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with parliament; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our King with supplications; he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed June 14.

1775. *pealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation; their efforts in our favour have been hitherto ineffectual."*

In this state of distrust and ill-humour on both sides, every day afforded new ground for bickering, and every incident fresh room for altercation, so that there was a continued intercourse, by addresses, messages, and answers, between the House of Burgesses and the Fowey. This was a singular situation; an attempt to govern, without choosing, or finding it safe, to set a foot on shore in the country to be governed.

Assembly will not attend him on board the Fowey.

At length the necessary bills having passed the assembly, and the advanced season requiring their attendance in their several countries, the Council and Burgesses jointly intreated the Governor's presence, to give his assent to them and finish the session. They observed, that though the business had been greatly impeded by his absence from the seat of government, and they had submitted to the inconvenience of repeatedly sending their members twelve miles to attend his Excellency on board a ship of war, they could not but think it highly improper, and too great a departure from the constitutional and accustomed mode of transacting their business, to present the bills to him at any other place than the capital.

Lord Dunmore in his answer was somewhat rough. He insisted upon his right of calling them to any place in the colony, where the exigencies of affairs might render their attendance necessary. He further observed, that as he had not been made acquainted with the whole proceedings of the Assembly, he knew of no bills of importance, which, if he were inclined to risque his person again among the people, they had to present to him, nor whether they were such as he could assent to if they had.

To

To obviate these objections, though it was an unprecedented act, the Assembly sent the bills, as well as other papers which were afterwards demanded, on board the Fowey, for his inspection. The most interesting of those bills, seemingly to all parties, was that for the payment of the forces, who had lately, under his Lordship's command, suffered considerably, at the same time that they had done essential service to their country, by their bravery and success in the late Indian war. This bill was objected to by the Governor, for its imposing a tax upon the importation of slaves, and for some informality in respect to the emission of paper money. The other bills were approved of. 1775.

This produced the final address from the House of Burgesses, in which they intreated his Excellency, that he would meet them the ensuing day at Williamsburgh, to pass the bills that were ready; expressed their hopes, that he could not still entertain any groundless fears of personal danger; but declare, that if it was possible he remained under so strange an influence, they pledged their honours, and every thing sacred, for his security. If nothing could prevail, they requested that he would grant a commission for passing such bills as he approved.

Lord Dunmore persisted in the objections he had made to the bill; said that the well-grounded cause he had for believing his person not safe at Williamsburgh, had increased daily. That he therefore could not meet them, as they requested, at the capital; but that he would be ready to receive the House on the following Monday, at his present residence, for the purpose of giving his assent to such acts as he should approve of.

This answer put an end to all public correspondence and business between the Governor and colony. The transferring the Legislative Council
M m and

1775. and House of Representatives of a great county on board a man of war, was evidently not to be expected. Their danger in such a situation, if on other accounts it were possible they could put themselves into it, was no less than Lord Dunmore's could be on land. It may, however, be supposed, that the Governor's conduct was operated upon by causes, or influenced by motives, with which we are unacquainted.

Upon receiving the foregoing answer, the Burgesses passed resolutions, in which they declared, that the message requiring them to attend the Governor on board a ship of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges. That the unreasonable delays thrown into their proceedings, and the evasive answers to their sincere and decent addresses, gave them reason to fear that a dangerous attack was meditated against the unhappy people of that colony, and it was therefore their opinion, that they should prepare for the preservation of their property, and their inestimable rights and liberties. And then, strongly professing loyalty to the King, and amity to the mother country, they broke up their session.

July 18th
Conven-
tion of
delegates
held, and
means
used to
arm the
province.

Declara-
tion to
justify
these pro-
ceedings.

Thus, unhappily, was an end put, for the present, to the English government in the colony of Virginia. A convention of delegates was soon appointed to supply the place of the assembly, who having an unlimited confidence reposed in them by the people, become accordingly possessed of an unlimited power in all public affairs. These immediately took in hand the raising and embodying of an armed force, as well as the providing means for its support, and pursued every other measure which could tend to place the colony in a strong state of defence. Whilst they were pursuing these dangerous steps, they published a Declaration in justification of their conduct, tracing the measures that led to the present unhappy state

state of public affairs, setting forth the cause of their meeting, and shewing the necessity of immediately putting the country in a posture of defence, for the protection of their lives, liberties, and properties. They concluded as the assembly had done, with the strongest professions of faith and loyalty, and declared, that as, on the one hand, they were determined at the peril of the extremest hazards, to maintain their just rights and privileges, so on the other, it was their fixed and unalterable resolution, to disband such forces as were raised for the defence of the colony, whenever their dangers were removed and America restored to its former state of tranquillity and happiness.

1775.

Whether Lord Dunmore expected that any extraordinary advantages might be derived from an insurrection of the slaves, or that he imagined there was a much greater number of people in the colony, who were satisfied with the present system of government, than really was the case, (a mistake, and an unfortunate one, which like an epidemical distemper, seems to have spread through all our official departments in America) upon whatever grounds he proceeds, he determined, tho' he relinquished his government, not to abandon his hopes, nor entirely to lose sight of the country which he had governed. He accordingly, being joined by those friends of government, who had rendered themselves too obnoxious to the people to continue with safety in the country, as well as by a number of runaway negroes, and supported by the frigates of war which were upon the station, endeavoured to establish such a marine force, as would enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which render the most valuable parts of that rich country accessible by water, to be always at hand, and ready to profit, of any favourable occasion that offered.

Coercive
measures
also a-
dopted
by the
Gover-
nor.

Upon

1775.



Upon this, or some similar system, he by degrees equipped and armed a number of vessels of different kinds and sizes, in one of which he constantly resided, never setting his foot on shore but in a hostile manner; the force, thus put together, was however, calculated only for depredation, and never became equal to any essential service. The former indeed, was in part a matter of necessity, for as the people on shore would not supply those on board with provisions or necessaries, they must either starve, or provide them by force. The Virginians pretend, that while the depredations were confined to those necessary objects, the respect which they bore to the rank and office of their governor, prevented his meeting with any resistance; but their nature was soon changed into open and avowed hostility. Obnoxious persons they said, were seized and carried on board the ships; plantations ravished and destroyed; the negroes carried off; houses burnt, and at length lives lost on both sides. In one of these expeditions, his Lordship destroyed a number of iron cannon, and carried off some others, which he supposed were provided for the purposes of rebellion, though the Virginians assert they were ship guns. These proceedings occasioned the sending of some detachments of the new-raised forces to protect the coasts, and from thence ensued, a small, mischievous, predatory war, incapable of affording honour, or benefit, and in which, at length, every drop of water, and every necessary, was purchased at the price or risque of blood.

Oct. 25th
Lord
Dunmore
repulsed
in his at-
tempt to
destroy
the town
of Hamp-
ton.

During this state of hostility, he procured a few soldiers from different parts, with whose assistance, an attempt was made to burn a port-town, in an important situation, called Hampton. It seems the inhabitants had some previous suspicion of the design, for they had sunk boats in the entrance of the harbour, and thrown such other obstacles in the way, as rendered the approach of the ships, and consequently

quently a landing, impracticable on the day in which the attack was commenced. The ships cut a passage through the boats in the night, and began to cannonade the town furiously in the morning; but at this critical period, they were relieved from their apprehensions and danger, by the arrival of a detachment of rifle and minute men, from Williamburgh, who had marched all night to their assistance. These, joined with the inhabitants, attacked the ships so vigorously with their small arms, that they were obliged precipitately to quit their station with the loss of some men, and of a tender which was taken.

1775.

In consequence of this repulse, a proclamation was issued by the Governor, dated on board the ship William, off Norfolk, declaring, that as the civil law was at present insufficient to prevent and punish treason and traitors, martial law should take place, and be executed throughout the colony: and requiring all persons capable of bearing arms to repair to his Majesty's standard, or to be considered as traitors. He also declared all indented servants, negroes, or others, appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who joined his Majesty's forces, to be free.

Nov. 7th.

Proclamation
for martial law,
and the emanci-
pation of
the ne-
groes.

This measure of emancipating the negroes, excited less surprize, and probably had less effect in exciting the desired insurrection, from its being so long threatened and apprehended, than if it had been more immediate and unexpected. It was, however, received with the greatest horror in all the colonies, and has been severely condemned elsewhere, as tending to loosen the bands of society, to destroy domestic security, and encourage the most barbarous of mankind, to the commission of the most horrible crimes, and the most inhuman cruelties; that it was confounding the innocent with the guilty, and exposing those who were the best

1775.  best friends to government, to the same loss of property, danger, and destruction, with the most incorrigible rebels. It was said to establish a precedent of a most dangerous nature in the new world, by giving a legal sanction to the arraying and embodying of African negroes, to appear in arms against white men, and to encounter them upon an equal footing in the field; for however founded distinctions with respect to colour may appear, when examined by the tests of nature, reason or philosophy, while things continue in their present state, while commerce, luxury, and avarice, render slavery a principal object in the political system of every European power that possesses dominion in America, the idea of a pre-eminence must always be cherished, and considered as a necessary policy. This measure is perhaps liable to be charged with another political fault, which has attended too many others that have been lately adopted with respect to America, viz. that of violent irritation, without affording any adequate benefit.

The Proclamation, however, with Lord Dunmore's presence, and the encouragement of the small marine force he had with him, produced, for the present, some effect in the town of Norfolk, and the adjoining country, where many of the people were well-affected to government. He was accordingly joined by some hundreds both of blacks and whites, and many others, who did not chuse to take an active part, publicly abjured the Congress, with all its acts, and all conventions and committees, whatever. It is probable that Lord Dunmore now hoped, that the facility and good disposition which he experienced here, would have been so general, as to enable him to raise a considerable armed force, and thus, perhaps, without any foreign assistance, to have the glory of reducing one part of the province by the means of the other.

This

This pleasing hope was interrupted by intelligence, that a party of the rebels were marching towards them with great expedition. To obstruct their designs, and protect the well-affected, he took possession of a post called the Great-Bridge, which lay at some miles distance from Norfolk, and was a pass of great consequence, being the only way by which they could approach to that town. Here he constructed a fort on the Norfolk side of the bridge, which he furnished well with artillery, and rendered as defensible as the time would admit. Notwithstanding the loyalty of the people in this quarter, which included two small counties, it does not appear that his force was at all considerable, either as to the number or quality; he had indeed 200 regulars, including the grenadiers of the 14th regiment, and a body called the Norfolk volunteers; the rest was a motley mixture of blacks and whites. The enemy, under the command of a Colonel Woodford, fortified themselves also, within less than cannon shot of our people; they had a narrow causeway in their front, which must be passed to come at their works, so that both parties seemed pretty well secured from surprize.

1775.

Action
near the
Great
Bridge.

In this state they continued quiet on both sides for some days, until at length a design was formed, for surprizing the enemy in their entrenchments. This was undertaken before daylight. Capt. Fordyce, at the head of his grenadiers, amounting to about 60, led the attack. They boldly passed the causeway, and marched up to the entrenchments with fixed bayonets, and with a coolness and intrepidity, which first excited the astonishment, and afterwards the praise of their enemies; for they were not only exposed naked to the fire in front, but enfiladed by another part of the works. The brave Captain, with several of his men, fell; the Lieutenant, with others, were taken, and all the survivors

Dec. 9th.

1775. vivors of the grenadier company, whether prisoners or not, were wounded.

The fire of the artillery from the fort, enabled our people to retire without pursuit, as well as to carry off many of their dead and wounded. It will excite no great surprize, that the slaves in this engagement, did more prejudice to our own people, than to the enemy. It has been said, that we were led into this unfortunate affair, through the designed false intelligence of a pretended deserter, who was tutored for the purpose: however that may be, it was grievous, that such uncommon bravery should be squandered to no purpose. Capt. Fordyce was interred with every military honour by the victors, who shewed due respect to his former merit, as well as the gallantry which signalized his last moments. The English prisoners were treated with great kindness; the Americans who had joined the King's standard with equal rigour. In this engagement we are said to have had 129 killed, 175 wounded, and 40 of our men made prisoners.

His Lp.
again re-
tires on
board.

Lord Dunmore with the remainder of his forces retired from the post at the Great-Bridge the ensuing night, without any other loss than a few pieces of cannon, and some trifling stores which they left behind; and as all hopes in this quarter were now at an end, he therefore thought it necessary to abandon the town and neighbourhood of Norfolk, and retired again with his people on board the ships, which were considerably increased in number, by those which he found in that port. Many of the well affected, or Tories, (which was the appellation now given to them throughout America) thought it prudent, with their families, to seek the same asylum, whether they also carried the most portable and valuable of their effects. Thus his Lordship formed a considerable fleet, with respect to the number of vessels and tonnage, and those were also crouded

crouded with people ; but the ships were without force, and contained mouths without hands fit to navigate them. The rebels took possession of Norfolk, and the fleet moved to a greater distance. 1775.

During these transactions, a scheme had been in agitation, for raising a considerable force at the back of the colonies, particularly in Virginia and the Carolinas, where it was known there were many well-affected to the King's government ; it was hoped that some of the Indian nations might be induced to become parties in this design ; and that thus united, they not only would make such a diversion, as must greatly alarm and distress the rebels, but that they might penetrate so far towards the coasts, as to form a junction with Lord Dunmore. One Connolly, a native of Pennsylvania, an active enterprizing man, who seems to have been well calculated for such an undertaking, was the framer of this design ; and his project being approved of by Lord Dunmore, he with great difficulty and danger carried on a negotiation with the Ohio Indians, and his friends among the back settlers, upon the subject. This having succeeded to his satisfaction, he returned to Lord Dunmore, who sent him with the necessary credentials to Boston, where he received a commission from General Gage, to act as colonel commandant, with assurances of support and assistance, at the time and in the manner appointed. It was intended, that the garrison which we had at Detroit, and some other of the remote back forts, with their artillery and ammunition, should be subservient to this design, and the adventurer expected to draw some assistance, at least, of volunteers and officers, from the nearest parts of Canada. He was to grant all commissions to the officers, and to have the supreme direction in every thing of the new forces, and as soon as they were in sufficient condition, he was to penetrate through Virginia in such a manner, as to

Scheme
for raising the
Indians
and Back
Settlers.

1775. meet Lord Dunmore, at a given time in the month of April, in the vicinity of Alexandria, upon the river Potowmac, who was to bring such a naval force, and other assistance, as was deemed necessary for the purpose. It was also a part, and not the least comprehensive of this plan, to cut off the communication between the northern and southern colonies.

Conolly
taken
prisoner,
and the
scheme
frustrat'd.

Thus far, affairs seemed to look well with our adventurer; but on his road through Maryland to the scene of action, and when he was so far advanced that the worst seemed nearly over, the vigilance, or suspicious temper of one of the committees, unfortunately frustrated all his hopes. Being taken up on suspicion, with two of his associates who travelled along with him, his papers betrayed every thing; among these was the general scheme of the design, a letter from Lord Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs, with such other authentic vouchers, as left nothing to be doubted. The papers were published by the Congress, and the undertakers sent to prison.

As it does not appear that the loyalists were very lenient to those who differed with them in political opinions, during the short time of their superiority in the country adjoining to Norfolk, so now, upon the turn of affairs, the obtaining a plausible shew of justice, under the colour of retaliation, afforded such a favourable opportunity for the practice of severity, and the gratification of private pique, and natural malignity, on the other side, as is never known to be neglected by any party in similar circumstances. For though many had taken shelter on board the ships, a much greater number remained behind, some being willing to hazard some danger, rather than abandon their property; others hoping that their conduct, from its moderation, would bear enquiry; and the majority, from their
having

having no prospect of subsistence if they quitted home, and an expectation that their obscurity would save them from notice. To conclude, such charges of oppression, injustice, and cruelty, were made on both sides, as are usually done in such cases. 1775.

In the mean time, the people in the fleet were distressed for provisions and necessaries of every sort, and were cut off from every kind of succour from the shore. This occasioned constant bickering between the armed ships and boats, and the forces that were stationed on the coast, particularly at Norfolk. At length, upon the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was sent on shore, to put the question, whether they would supply his Majesty's ships with provisions, which being answered in the negative, and the ships in the harbour being continually annoyed by the fire of the rebels, from that part of the town which lay next the water, it was determined to dislodge them by destroying it. Previous notice being accordingly given to the inhabitants, that they might remove from the danger, the first day of the new year was signalized by the attack, when a violent cannonade, from the Liverpool frigate, two sloops of war, and the Governor's armed ship the Dunmore, seconded by parties of the sailors and marines, who landed and set fire to the nearest houses, soon produced the desired effect, and the whole town was reduced to ashes. L. Dunmore reduces to ashes the town of Norfolk,

It appears from a gazette published in the Governor's ship, (who had removed the printing press and materials thither from Norfolk) that it was only intended to destroy that part of the town which was next the water; but that the rebels completed the destruction, by setting fire to the back and remote streets, which, as the wind was in their favour, would have otherwise been safe from the fury of the flames. It is not, however, easy to prescribe limits

1775.

limits to the progress of a fire in such, or indeed in any circumstances. A few of those who landed, as well as of the rebels, were killed and wounded.

Such was the fate of the unfortunate town of Norfolk, the most considerable for commerce in the colony, and so growing and flourishing before these unhappy troubles, that in the two years from 1773 to 1775, the rents of the houses increased from 8,000 to 10,000 pounds a year. The whole loss is estimated at above 300,000*l*. However just the cause, or urgent the necessity, which induced this measure, it was undoubtedly a grievous and odious task to a governor, to be himself a principal actor, in burning and destroying the best town in his government. The rebels, after this transaction, to cut off every resource from the ships, and partly perhaps to punish the well-affected, burnt and destroyed the houses and plantations within reach of the water, and obliged the people to remove, with their cattle, provisions, and portable effects, farther into the country.

Transac-
tions in
S. Caro-
lina

Nor was the situation of other governors in America, much more eligible than that of Lord Dunmore. In South-Carolina, Lord William Campbell, having, as they said, entered into a negotiation with the Indians, for coming in to the support of government in that province, and having also succeeded in exciting a number of those back settlers, who we have heretofore seen distinguished in the Carolinas, under the title of Regulators, to espouse the same cause, the discovery of these measures, before they were sufficiently ripe for execution, occasioned such a ferment among the people, that he thought it necessary to retire from Charles-Town on board a ship of war in the river, from whence he returned no more to the seat of his government. In the mean time a Mr. Drayton, who was judge of the superior court, and one of the most leading men

men in the colony, marched with a strong armed force to the back settlements, where a treaty was concluded between him and the leaders of the Regulators ; in which the differences between them were attributed to misinformation, a misunderstanding of each others views and designs, and a tenderness of conscience on the side of the latter, which prevented their signing the association, or pursuing any measures against government ; but as they now engaged, neither by word or act to impede or contravene such proceedings as should be adopted and pursued by the province in general, nor to give any information, aid, or assistance, to such British troops as should at any time arrive in it, so they were to be entirely free in their conduct otherwise, to enjoy a safe neutrality, and to suffer no molestation, for their not taking an active part in the present troubles. 1775.

The government of the province was lodged in a council of safety consisting of 13 persons, with the occasional assistance of a committee of ninety-nine. As they had intelligence that an armament was preparing in England, which was particularly intended against it, no means were left untried for its defence, in disciplining the forces, procuring arms and gun-powder, and particularly in fortifying and securing Charles-Town.

Similar measures were pursued in North Carolina, (with the difference that Governor Martin was more active and vigorous in his proceedings) but was attended with as little success. The Provincial Congress, Committee, and Governor were in a continual state of the most violent warfare. Upon a number of charges, particularly of fomenting a civil war, and exciting an insurrection among the negroes, he was declared an enemy to America in general, and to that colony in particular, and all persons forbidden from holding any communication with

Transactions in N. Carolina

1775.

with him. These declarations he answered with a proclamation of uncommon length, which the Provincial Congress resolved to be a false, scandalous, scurrilous, malicious, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

As the Governor expected by means of the back settlers, as well as of the Scotch inhabitants and highland emigrants, who were numerous in the province, to be able to raise a considerable force, he took pains to fortify and arm his palace at Newbern, that it might answer the double purpose of a garriſon and magazine. Before this could be effected, the moving of ſome cannon excited ſuch a commotion among the people, that he found it neceſſary to abandon the palace, and retire on board a ſloop of war in Cape Fear river. The people upon this occaſion, diſcovered powder, ſhot, ball, and various military ſtores and implements, which had been buried in the palace garden and yard; this ſerved to inflame them exceedingly, every man conſidering it as if it had been a plot againſt himſelf in particular.

In other reſpects, the province had followed the example of their neighbours in South-Carolina, by eſtabliſhing a council and committees of ſafety, with other ſubſtitutes for a regular and permanent government. They alſo purſued the ſame methods of providing for defence, of raiſing, arming and ſupporting forces, and of training the militia, and ſhewed equal vigour and eagerneſs in all their proceedings. The Provincial Congress publiſhed an addreſs to the inhabitants of the Britiſh empire, of the ſame nature with thoſe we have formerly ſeen to the people of Great-Britain and Ireland, containing the ſame profeſſions of loyalty and affection, and declaring the ſame earneſt deſire of a reconciliation.

General

General Gage having returned in the beginning of October, to England, the command in chief of the army at Boston, devolved upon General Howe, who soon after issued a proclamation, by which, such of the inhabitants as attempted to quit the town without licence, were condemned to military execution, if detected and taken, and if they escaped, to be proceeded against as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. By another, such as obtained permission to quit the town, were restrained by severe penalties, from carrying more than a small specified sum of money with them. He also enjoined the signing and entering into an association, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their persons for the defence of the town, and such of them as he approved of, were to be armed, formed into companies, and instructed in military exercises and discipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money, towards the common defence.

1775.
General Gage returns to England, — is succeeded in command by Gen. HOWE.

As the limited term, for which the soldiers in the army before Boston had enlisted, was nearly expired, a committee from the General Congress, consisting of several of its most respectable members, were sent thither to take the necessary measures, in conjunction with General Washington, for keeping it from disbanding. This, however, does not seem to have been a work of any great difficulty, the whole army having re-enlisted for a year certain to come. Of all the difficulties which the Americans met, in their attempts towards the establishment of a military force, nothing affected them so grievously, or was found so hard to be remedied, as the want of gun-powder. For tho' they used the utmost diligence in the collecting and preparing of nitre, and in all the other parts of the manufacture; the resource from their industry must necessarily be slow, and with regard to any considerable effect distant. Nor had they yet opened that commerce, nor entered into those measures with foreign

Conti-
nental
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new term.

1775.

foreign states, which have since procured them a supply of military articles. Indeed the scarcity of powder was so great, that it is said the troops at Bunker's Hill, had not a single charge left at the end of that short engagement: and it is also said, that the weakness of the army before Boston in that respect, was at one time so great, that nothing but our ignorance of the circumstance, could have saved them from being dispersed and ruined. They, however, left nothing undone to supply this defect, and among many temporary expedients, had contrived to purchase, without notice or suspicion, all the powder on the coast of Africa, and plundered the magazine in the island of Bermuda, of above 100 barrels, which was carried off (as it was pretended) without the knowledge of the inhabitants.

Oct. 18

Falmouth
cannon-
aded &
nearly de-
stroyed.

In the course of the depredation, threat, and hostility, which continually occurred on the sea coasts, the town of Falmouth, in the northern part of the province of Massachusetts Bay, was doomed to experience a share of those calamities, which were afterwards dispensed in a greater degree to Norfolk in Virginia, (already taken notice of in the transactions of that colony). Some particular violence or misbehaviour, relative to the loading of a mast-ship, drew the indignation of the Admiral upon this place, and occasioned an order for its destruction. The officer who commanded the ships upon this occasion, gave two hours previous notice to the inhabitants to provide for their safety, and this time was further enlarged till the next morning, under the cover of a negotiation for delivering up their artillery and small arms, at the price of saving the town. This, however, they at length refused to comply with; but had made use of the intermediate time in removing so many of their effects as they could procure carriages for, or as the darkness and confusion of the night would admit of.

About

About 9 o'clock in the morning, a cannonade was begun, and continued with little intermission through the day. Above 300 shot, besides bombs and carcasses, were thrown into the town, and the sailors landed to compleat the destruction, but were repulsed with the loss of a few men. The principal part of the town, (which lay next the water) consisting of about 134 dwelling houses, 278 store and ware houses, with a large new church, a new handsome court-house, the old town-house, with the public library, were reduced to ashes; about 100 of the worst houses, being favoured by the situation and distance, escaped destruction, though not without damage. Though the settlements in this quarter were new, being mostly established since the last war, this small town was amazingly thriving, being situate on a fine harbour, and having a very considerable trade, so that it was computed to contain about 600 families, though little more than one-third of that number of dwelling houses.

1775.

The destruction which fell upon Falmouth, probably accelerated in the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, the daring measure (under pretence of protecting their coasts) of passing an act,—*for granting letters of marque and reprisal, and the establishment of courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of British ships.*—In this law they declared an intention, of only defending the coasts and navigation of America, extending the power of capture only to such ships as should be employed in bringing supplies to the armies employed against them.

Nov. 13.

A Law made for granting letters of marque and reprisal.

In the course of the summer, Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, between the several colonies which were already associated, with liberty of admission to those of Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, the two Floridas, and Bermudas, containing rules for their general government in peace and war, both with respect to foreigners and each

Articles of confederation proposed by the Continental Congress.

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1775.

other, were drawn up by the General Congress, and by them transmitted to the different colonies, for the inspection and consideration of their respective assemblies. As these Articles of Confederation, &c. were the only out-lines by which the general movements and operations of the different colonies in future were regulated, and as they may serve in a great measure to shew the general sense and spirit of these times, we have given them at large, with many other interesting Papers, necessary to elucidate this History in the Appendix.

The people, however, were not yet sufficiently irritated, nor their affections and prejudices sufficiently broken, to accede to a Confederacy, which though conditionally framed and worded, yet led to a total separation from the mother country. For tho' they took up arms and opposed government, still, it was in general, under the hope of obtaining thereby a redress of grievances; and that being the nearer and more agreeable object, they would not willingly look to any thing further, especially to one so dreadful as a total separation. It required a longer time in the contemplation of real or supposed injuries, and in speculations upon future, together with fresh and constant sources of irritation, to arrive at that habit of vexation and hatred, which was necessary to break ties of so long a standing, and to familiarize so new an idea.

Commer-
cial reso-
lution,
suspend-
ing in
certain
cases the
prohibi-
tion with
respect to
exporta-
tion and
importa-
tion.

A resolution was also passed by the Congress at the appearance of autumn, that as America was blessed with a most plentiful harvest, and should have a great superfluity to spare for other nations, so if the late restraining laws were not repealed, within six months from the 20th of July, on which they commenced, the custom-houses should be every where shut up, and their ports from thenceforth be open to every state in Europe, (which would admit and protect their commerce) free of all duties, and for

for every kind of commodity, excepting, only, teas, and the merchandize of Great-Britain, and her dependencies. And the more to encourage foreigners to engage in trade with them, they passed a resolution, that they would, to the utmost of their power, maintain and support such freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, notwithstanding any reconciliation with Great-Britain, and as much longer as the present obnoxious laws should continue.—They also, immediately, suspended the *non-importation* agreement, in favour of all ships that should bring gun-powder, nitre, sulphur, good muskets fitted with bayonets, or brass field pieces, such ships being to be loaded in return with the value of their cargoes. At this sitting of the General Congress, they likewise sent out a second petition to the King, which was delivered to Lord Dartmouth, by Governor Penn, and to which his Lordship said,—“*No answer would be given.*” As it may perhaps hereafter be a matter of doubt, when the war and its consequences are much better remembered, than the circumstances that preceded, or the causes that led to it, whether it was possible that such sentiments could really prevail with either of the parties, at the time so unnatural, and so unhappy a contest took place between them; and as the particular drift of this Petition, (distinct from its great and general object of a restoration of harmony and peace) will, we apprehend, be more fully understood by their own sentiments and dress of language, than any comment of ours thereon, we have therefore in the Appendix given it in full, in their own cloathing, with all the signatures annexed thereto; being persuaded, that whatever were the inward intentions of the parties, the language was conciliatory, and the request not immoderate. The Americans are said to have laid great stress upon the success of this final application to the Throne, (which they termed their *Olive Branch*) and are said

1775.

1775. said to have relaxed their operations considerably upon that idea, until they heard the event.

Dec. 6th. Towards the close of the year, the General Congress published a declaration in answer to the royal proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition, which was issued at St. James's on the 23d of August. In this piece they combated and denied the charges of forgetting their allegiance, of treason, and rebellion, and took particular notice of the dangerous tendency, and indiscriminate nature of a clause, prohibiting under the severest penalties, the carrying on of any correspondence from England, with any persons in rebellion, or the aiding or abetting of such. But not content with critical observations, they conclude with a declaration in the name of the people of the United Colonies, That whatever punishment shall be inflicted upon any persons in the power of their enemies, for favouring, aiding, or abetting, the cause of American liberty, should be retaliated in the same kind, and the same degree, upon those in their power, who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or should favour, aid, or abet, the system of ministerial oppression.

Different opinions respecting this petition. We shall of ourselves make no observations on the forementioned petition, but will close this chapter, (as well as the American accounts for this year) with some thoughts of the legislature thereon.—Those who favoured the plan of pacifying by concession, loudly clamoured at the answer of Lord Dartmouth, as calculated to drive the colonies to the last extremities of independence and foreign connection; for this reception, they said, of so dutiful and decent an address, amounted to no less than a renunciation of their allegiance.—On the other hand, the friends of the ministry took it into a different point of view. The petition, they allowed, had a decent appearance. But did they formally admit the rights of parliament? Were they not still in

in arms? and in that situation could their sincerity be relied on? They said, that they only wanted to gain time by a negociation, until they had formed their government, and established their strength in such a manner, as would render all future efforts for their reduction ineffectual. We had already gone far in the expences of a war; we should not now stop short; but reap the benefits to government, which always arise from unsuccessful rebellion. And besides those great objects, of punishing the obnoxious, and providing for our friends, to revit, without leaving room for a future contest, that unconditional submission upon the Americans, which no treaty or negociation could ever obtain. While on the contrary, if amicable terms were now entered into, all our expence and preparation would be thrown away; we must shrink from the proposals we had made to foreign Princes for hiring their troops, which would degrade us in their eyes, as our tameness in putting up with the insolence of our own people, would in those of all Europe; and all the bustle we had made would pass over, without having impressed the colonies with a sense of our dignity, or with the terror of our power. Besides the nation was prepared by the language of war for the event, and it was not certain that vigorous measures, if it should be found necessary to resume them, would be so well received as they were in the present temper of the nation, whose favourable disposition was to be carefully cultivated, and employed in the critical moment.

1775.

CHAP. XI.

Affairs at Boston continued to the total embarkation of General Howe's army from that garrison to Halifax.—From the blockade of Quebec by Arnold, to the entire recovery of all Canada, particularizing the retaking of Montreal, Chamblee, St. John's, &c.—Continuation of affairs in Virginia, North and South Carolinas.—Some account of Sir Peter Parker's Squadron, Lord Cornwallis and General Clinton's troops, with their attack on Sullivan's Island.

1776.
January

Distresses
of the
army at
Boston
during
the win-
ter.

THE delays and misfortunes which the transports and victuallers from England and Ireland had experienced, reduced our forces at Boston to great distress. To their distress was added the mortification of seeing several vessels which were laden with the necessaries and comforts of life, taken in the very entrance of the harbour; whilst different circumstances of tide, wind, or situation, disabled the ships of war from preventing the mischief. The loss of most of the coal ships was particularly felt, as fuel could not be procured, and the climate rendered that article indispensable. The wretched inhabitants were in a state still more deplorable. Detained against their will, cut off from all intercourse with their friends, exposed to all the consequences of that contempt and aversion with which a great part of them were regarded by the soldiery, and at the same time in want of almost every necessary of life. Calamitous however as that situation was, it served as a sort of refuge to those who were either zealous in favour of the King's government, or so dissatisfied with the new state of things, that they could no longer live with comfort, some of them hardly with safety, in their own homes.

It was even feared that the military stores would fail, and salt provisions at last grew scarce. The troops at Bunker's Hill underwent great hardships, being obliged to lie in tents all the winter, under
the

the driving snows, and exposed to the almost intolerably cutting winds of the climate in that season, which with the strict and constant duty occasioned by the strength and vicinity of the enemy, rendered that service exceedingly severe both to the private men and officers. Various attempts were made, to remedy or to lessen some of the wants which now prevailed in the army. That of firing, which was the most immediately and intolerably pressing, was in some measure relieved by the destruction of houses. 1776.

The attempts made to procure provisions were not attended with any great success. Some vessels which were sent to Barbadoes, obtained through the assistance of the Governor, and before the matter was fully known, a quantity so moderate that it would not at other times have been taken more notice of than any common occurrence in trade; but being now cut off from their usual resources, and having as they said, a famine staring them in the face, with 80,000 Blacks, and 20,000 Whites to feed, and no sufficient stock in hand, nor any certain supply in prospect, the measure was deemed so dangerous, that it occasioned a direct address from the assembly to the king, including along with the detail of their own melancholy situation, strong complaints against the conduct of the Governor.

A detachment of marines, with an armed ship and some transports, were sent to Savannah in Georgia, with a view, as it would seem by the event, of obtaining cargoes of rice and other provisions, whether by force or otherwise. The militia, however, took to their arms, and would not permit the marines to land, nor the ships to hold any correspondence with the shore. In the course of the debate which arose upon this occasion, some officers belonging to the Colony were seized and detained on board the ships, and their release being refused with a high hand, and other circumstances of aggravation

Seven cargoes of provisions designedly burnt by the provincials in Georgia.

1776.

vation occurring on both sides, some batteries were speedily erected by the militia on the banks of the river, and an engagement with cannon and small arms took place, in which some blood was spilt, and seven loaded vessels belonging to the Colony, which the commanders of the King's armed vessels, seemingly by collusion with the Captains or owners, had got possession of, and whose cargoes would effectually have answered their purpose, were designedly burnt in the conflict.

In this state of things on our side, the provincials before Boston were well covered and supplied in their lines. They expected with the most earnest solicitude the setting in of the frost, which usually takes place there about Christmas, and generally covers the harbour, and all the adjoining rivers and creeks, with a surface of solid ice. They founded great hopes upon this, as upon a most powerful auxiliary, by whose aid they did not only extend their views to the recovery of the town, but to the seizure or destruction of the fleet, as well as of the land forces.

In these they were disappointed. The winter was uncommonly mild, and the frost had none of the effects they expected. The expectation, however, probably influenced their operations, and occasioned their continuing more quiet than they otherwise would have done. The arrival of a copy of the King's speech,* with an account of the fate of

King's
speech.

* In the speech from the throne, at the opening of parliament, Oct. 26th, 1775, After accounting for this early meeting by the situation of America, heavy complaints were made of the misrepresentations of the leaders of sedition in the colonies, who having first infused into the minds of the people, a system of opinions repugnant to their true constitutional subordination, had at length commenced hostilities, and usurped the whole powers of government. His Majesty then entered into the difference of the views of those leaders, and of those of the crown

of the petition from the Continental Congress, is said to have excited the greatest degree of rage and indignation amongst them; as a proof of which the former was publicly burnt in the camp; and they are said upon this occasion to have changed their colours from a plain red ground, which they had hitherto used, to a flag with thirteen stripes, as a symbol of the number and union of the Colonies.

1776.

Effects of
the fore-
going
speech.

crown and parliament, from whence the former derived their present advantages. The view of the latter was rather to undeceive, than punish. Therefore only small forces were sent, and propositions of a conciliatory nature accompanied the measures taken to enforce authority. The former, whilst they endeavoured to delude with specious professions, had in view nothing but the establishing of an independent empire. That the consequences of the success of each plan were too obvious. The spirit of the British nation was too high, and its resources too numerous, to suffer her tamely to lose what had been acquired with so great toil, nursed with great tenderness, and protected at much expence of blood and treasure. That wisdom, and in the end clemency, required a full exertion of these resources. That the navy had been increased, and the land forces greatly augmented. Foreign succours (though no treaty was then concluded) were held out. The disposition of the Hanover troops in Mahon and Gibraltar was specified. In the end, an assurance of the royal mercy was given, as soon as the deluded multitude should become sensible of their error, and to prevent the inconveniencies which might arise from the great distance of their situation, and to remove as soon as possible the calamities which they suffer, authority would be given to certain persons upon the spot, to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such manner, and to such persons, as they should think fit, and to receive the submission of any province or colony which should be disposed to return to its allegiance. It was also observed, that it might be proper to authorise such commissioners, to restore any province or colony, returning to its allegiance, to the free exercise of its trade and commerce, and to the same protection and security as if it had never revolted.——At the conclusion they were informed, that from assurances received, as well as from the general appearances of affairs in Europe, there was no apparent probability that the measures which they might adopt, would be interrupted by disputes with any foreign power.

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1776.

In the mean time the arrival by degrees of several of those scattered vessels which had sailed from these kingdoms with provisions and necessaries, alleviated in a considerable degree the distresses of the forces at Boston; and though the winter was not severe enough to answer all the purposes of their enemies, the climate prevailed so far as to render both parties fond of their quarters; to check the spirit of enterprize, and to prevent the effusion of blood; so that for two or three months, an unexampled quiet prevailed on both sides.

An ord-
nance
ship seiz-
ed.

During this state of things, the American cruizers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being for the greater part no better than whale boats, grew daily more numerous, and successful against the transports and store ships; and among a multitude of other prizes, had the fortune of taking one, which gave a new colour to their military operations. This was an ordnance ship from Woolwich, which had unfortunately separated from her convoy, and being herself of no force, was taken without defence by a small privateer. This vessel contained besides a large mortar upon a new construction, several pieces of fine brass cannon, a large quantity of small arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utensils, and machines, necessary for camps and artillery, in the greatest abundance. The loss of this ship was much resented in England, and occasioned some very severe animadversion upon the Admiralty, both within doors and without, for hazarding a cargo of such value and importance in a defenceless vessel.

The tranquility at Boston, was in the beginning of March unexpectedly broke in upon, by some sudden and unexpected movements on the side of the provincials. It is said, that as soon as the Congress had

had received intelligence of the Prohibitory Act,* and of the hiring of foreign troops, they immediately dispatched instructions to Gen. Washington, totally to change the mode of carrying on the war, and to bring affairs at Boston to the speediest decision that was possible, in order that the army might be disengaged, and at liberty to oppose the new dangers with which they were threatened.

1776.

Bad effects at Boston on hearing of the Prohibitory-Bill and Foreign troops.

However this was, a battery was opened near the water side, at a place called Phipp's Farm, on the

* On the 20th of Nov. 1775. Lord North brought into the House of Commons, the famous *Prohibitory Bill*. This Bill absolutely interdicts all trade and intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies. All properties of Americans whether of ships or goods, on the high-seas or in the harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors; being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war; and several clauses of the bill were inserted to facilitate and to lessen the expence of the condemnation of prizes, and the recovery of prize-money. This bill, besides its primary object, repealed the Boston port, with the Fishery, and Restraining Acts, their provisions in some instances being deemed insufficient in the present state of warfare, and their operation in others, being liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It also enabled the crown to appoint commissioners, who besides the power of simply granting pardons to individuals, were authorized to enquire into general and particular grievances, and empowered to determine, whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that state of obedience, which might entitle them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, the restrictions in the present bill were to cease in their favour.

Prohibitory Bill.

Treaties lately entered into between his Majesty, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, for the hiring of different bodies of their troops for the American service, amounting in the whole to about 17300 men. The conditions of these treaties were, That the troops were to enter into pay before they began to march; that the levy-money was to be paid at the rate of near 7l. 10s. per man; that those princes were also to be subsidized, and that a double subsidy is in one instance to be continued for two years, and for one year in another, after the

Foreign treaties.

troops

1776.

 New
 batteries
 opened.

the night of the 2d of March, from whence a severe cannonade and bombardment was carried on against the town, and repeated on the ensuing nights. Whilst the attention of the army was occupied by the firing of houses and other mischiefs incident to this new attack, they beheld with inexpressible surprize, on the morning of the 5th, some considerable works appear on the other side of the town, upon the heights of Dorchester Point, which had been erected in the preceding night, and from whence a 24 pound and a bomb battery, were soon after opened. Some of our officers have acknowledged, that the expedition with which these works were thrown up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds those wonderful stories of enchantment and invisible agency, which are so frequent in the Eastern Romances.

The

troops have returned to their respective countries; and that they (the Hessian troops) should be under no controul of either King or parliament; for the express words of the treaty are, "that *they* shall remain under the command of their general, "to whom His Most Serene Highness has entrusted the same."

—The debates on these affairs were long and animated in both houses, particularly with the Lords, where the Duke of Richmond moved for an address, of a considerable length, to his Majesty, in which, (besides several pointed observations relative to the treaties at large) he took a full and comprehensive view of American affairs in general, and demonstratively shewed from various laborious and accurate calculations, that the use of 17,300 mercenaries for the present year, would not, taking in all contingencies, cost the nation less than one million and an half ster. an expence, he maintained, not to be paralleled in the history of mankind, for the service of an equal number of men; therefore moved that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to countermand the march of the troops of Hesse, Hanau, and Brunswick; and likewise give directions for an immediate suspension of hostilities in America, in order to lay a foundation for a happy and permanent reconciliation between the divided parts of this distracted empire. This motion was, however, rejected by the usual majority, of about 100 to 32, including proxies, but was attended with an unusual protest, reciting the terms of the address at large.

The situation of the army was now very critical. 1776.
The new works, along with those others which it was evident would now be speedily constructed on some of the neighbouring hills, would command the town, a considerable part of the harbour, of the beach, from whence an embarkation must take place in the event of a retreat, and rendered the communication between the troops in the works at Boston Neck, and the main body, difficult and dangerous.

In these circumstances no alternative remained, but to abandon the town, or dislodge the enemy and destroy the new works. General Howe, with his usual spirit and resolution, adopted the latter, and took the necessary measures for the embarkation of that very evening of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, upon a service, which the whole army must of course been ultimately engaged in. This design was frustrated by the intervention of a dreadful storm at night, which rendered the embarkation impracticable, and thereby probably prevented the loss of a great number of brave men, if not of the whole army.

It is not, however, to be wondered at, that with a high sense of the British military honour, as well as of his own, the General should hazard much, rather than submit to the indignity of abandoning the town. He commanded a force, which he knew had been considered and represented here, as sufficient to look down all opposition in America; and which, in reality, with respect to the number of regiments, if not of men, the excellency of the troops, and character of the officers, and the powerful artillery which they possessed, would have been deemed respectable in any country, and dangerous by any enemy. With such troops to give up that town which had been the original cause of the war; and the constant object of contention since its commencement,

1776.  mencement, to a raw and despised militia, seemed exclusive of all other ill consequences, a disgrace not to be borne. But these brave men had, by a variety of events, and perhaps it will be thought, through original error and misconduct in the arrangement of the war, been reduced to such circumstances, and hedged in, in such a manner, that no means were left for an exertion of their force and courage, that were not subject to the greatest danger without affording a prospect of success.

Fortune prevented this perilous trial in the first instance. On the day that succeeded the tempest, the design was reassumed, but upon a nearer inspection it was discovered, that a new work had been thrown up, which was stronger than any of the former, and that the whole were now so completely fortified, that all hope of forcing them was at an end. It became clear also that Boston was not a situation very happily chosen for the improvement of any advantage which might be obtained towards the reduction of the Colonies.

Nothing now remained but to abandon the town, and to convey the troops, artillery, and stores, on board the ships. Nor was this last resort free from difficulty and danger. The enemy, however, continued quiet in their works, and made not the slightest attempt to obstruct the embarkation, or even to molest the rear, it is said, and, though it was positively denied by the ministers in both houses, seems to be generally believed, that some kind of convention or agreement, whether verbal, or only understood by secondary means, was established between the Commanders in Chief on each side, and that the abstaining from hostility on the one, was the condition of saving the town on the other. In proof of this it is affirmed, that combustibles were ready laid for firing the town, and that the select men

men were permitted to go out, and to hold a conference with General Washington upon the subject.

1776.

Notwithstanding this security, the embarkation could not be regulated in such a manner, though ten days were spent in carrying it into execution, as to prevent some degree of precipitation, disorder, and loss. It resembled more the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp. Fifteen hundred of the inhabitants, whose attachment to the royal cause had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, incumbered the transports with their families and effects. The Officers had laid out their money in furniture, and such other conveniencies as were necessary to render their situation tolerable; no purchasers could be procured for these effects; and it would have been cruelty in the extreme to many of them, to have been under a necessity of leaving their whole substance behind. The soldiers were embarrassed by their continual duty, and all carriages and labour that could be procured in the town, were of course monopolized by the emigrant inhabitants. Every person had some private concern, which was sufficient to occupy his time and thoughts. The sick, wounded, women, and children, called for every care and attention, and of course increased the embarrassment and distress. It will not be difficult to suppose some part of the confusion incident to such circumstances.

The General's situation was truly pitiable. But Embark-
he bore it with great fortitude; and conducted the ation.
whole with admirable temper. Some discontents
appeared, which were to be endured and allayed.
Scarcity of provisions, and ill success, always bred
discontent in camps. This was in some measure
the case at present. The General having received
no advices from England since the preceding month
of October, they considered themselves in a great
measure as abandoned, and left to extricate them-
selves

1776.

selves as they might out of the unfortunate situation in which they had been involved. Discontents are exceedingly fruitful; one generating a number of others in a very small period of time. Mutual jealousies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other, the cause of some part of that uneasiness which itself felt. The intended voyage to Halifax, was subject to circumstances of a very alarming nature. The coast, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully so at this tempestuous equinoctial season, and the multitude of ships, which amounted to about 150, increased the difficulty and apprehension. As the high north-east winds now prevailed, they were also liable to be blown off to the West Indies, without a stock of provisions in any degree sufficient to subsist them in such a passage. And, to render matters still more irksome, they were going to a sterile miserable country, which was incapable of affording those reliefs which they so much wanted. It could not pass the observation, and was highly vexatious to the military, that all this dangerous voyage, if compleated, was directly so much out of their way. They were going to the northern extremity of the Continent, when their business lay in the southern, or at least about the center.

Mar. 17.

G. Washington enters Boston.

The necessity of the situation left no choice of measures, and regret was useless. As the rear embarked, General Washington marched into the town with Drums beating, colours flying, and in all the triumph of victory. He was received by the remaining inhabitants, and acknowledged by the refugees, who now recovered their ancient possessions, with every mark of respect and gratitude, that could possibly be shewn to a deliverer. The assembly of the province were no less zealous in their public acknowledgments. His answer was proper, moderate and becoming his situation. The king's forces were under the necessity of leaving a considerable

able quantity of artillery and some stores behind. 1776.
The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boston Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unserviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented their having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afterwards weighed up by the town's people.

Thus was the long contested town of Boston at length given up, the colony of Massachusetts Bay, for the present freed from war, and left at liberty to adopt every measure which could tend to its future strength and security. It was above a week before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but they had ample amends made them in the passage, the voyage to Halifax being shorter and happier than could be hoped for. Several ships of war were left behind to protect the vessels which should arrive from England; in which, however, they were not perfectly successful, the great extent of the Bay, with its numerous islands and creeks, and the number of small ports that surrounded it, affording such opportunities to the provincial armed boats, and several privateers, that they took a number of these ships, which were still in ignorance that the town had changed masters.

G. Howe
departs
with the
army to
Halifax.

As several movements made by the enemy, and particularly their taking stations on the neighbouring islands, indicated a design of attacking Castle William, the possession of which would be the means of locking up the ships of war in the harbour, and of rendering all future attempts upon the town by sea impracticable, General Howe thought it necessary to blow up and demolish the fortifications on that island before his departure.

Fortifica-
tions of
Castle-
William
blown up.

General Washington was now in possession of the capital of Massachusetts Bay; but being ignorant
Q q of

1776. of the destination of the fleet, and apprehensive of an attempt upon New-York, he detached several regiments for the protection of that city, on the very day upon which he took possession of Boston. The royal army were not however at that time in circumstances that admitted of their undertaking any expedition. They did not exceed, it is said, nine thousand healthy and effective men, and were in other respects by no means sufficiently provided.

The estates and effects of those emigrants who had accompanied General Howe to Halifax, were ordered to be sold, and the produce applied to the public service. Some who ventured to stay behind, though they knew themselves to be obnoxious to the present government, were brought to trial as public enemies, and betrayers of their country; and the estates of such as were found guilty were confiscated in the same manner. But nothing occupied so much at present the minds of the people of Boston, or had so much attention paid to it by the province in general, as the putting of that town in such a state of defence, as might prevent a repetition of those evils which it had lately undergone. For this purpose, the greatest diligence was used in fortifying the town and harbour; some foreign engineers were procured to superintend the works, and every inhabitant dedicated two days in the week to their construction. Great doubts may, however, be entertained, whether Boston can be rendered tenable against an army, though these works may preserve it from insult.

Siege of
Quebec
continued.

During these transactions at Boston, the Blockade of Quebec, was continued under great difficulties by Arnold. Reinforcements arrived slowly, and the Canadians, who are not by any means remarkable for constancy, were disheartened and wavering. It seems, as if the Congress was unequal in conduct, as well as resources, to the management of so many
ope-

operations at the same time. The succours that were sent, suffered incredible hardships in their march; which they endured with that fortitude which had hitherto distinguished the Provincials in this war. On the other hand, General Carleton guarded, with his usual vigilance against every effort of fraud, force, and surprize; but as all supplies were cut off from the country, the inhabitants and garrison experienced many distresses.

1776.

As the season approached, in which supplies from England were inevitable, the Americans grew more active in their operations. They again renewed the siege, and erected batteries, and made several attempts by fire ships, and otherwise, to burn the vessels in the harbour. They failed in these attempts, though some of them were very boldly conducted; and their troops were at one time drawn up, and scaling ladders, with every other preparation, in readiness for storming the town, during the confusion which they expected the fire would have produced. Though they had not all the success they wished, they however burnt a great part of the suburbs, and the remaining houses being pulled down to prevent the spreading of the conflagration, afforded a most seasonable relief of fuel to the town, which had for some time been exceedingly distressed through the want of that necessary. During this state of things, a party of Canadians which had been embodied by Mr. Beaujeu, with a design of raising the siege, were encountered on their march, and easily dispersed by a detachment of the rebels.

Fruitless attempts to set the city on fire.

Mar. 2

This small success was not long sufficient to support the spirits of the Provincials. Having failed in all their attempts with shells, fireships, and red hot balls, to cause a conflagration in the city, their hope of taking it by storm ceased, whilst that of succeeding by a regular siege was daily lessened; indeed their

1776. *Small pox break out in the provincial camp.* their artillery was far from being equal to any great service. Although considerable reinforcements arrived in the remote parts of the Province, the various impediments of bad roads, bad weather, and the want of necessaries suitable to the service, prevented their being able to join them. In the state of despondency consequent of these circumstances, that scourge and terror of the western Continent and of its numerous nations, the small pox broke out, and made its usual cruel ravages amongst them. Nor was the immediate effect with respect to life or health the worst consequence of the calamity; for that disorder being considered as the American plague, and regarded with all the horror incident to that name, the dread of infection broke in upon every other consideration, and rendered it difficult, if not impracticable, to sustain discipline, or preserve order.

Arrival of the Isis man of war with land and marine forces.

In this situation, the Provincial accounts inform us, that they intended to raise the siege before the arrival of the succours from England, and that General Wooster, who at that time held the command, with some other of the principal officers, had already gone to Montreal to make some preparations necessary for the facilitating of that purpose. If such a design was formed, it was prevented from being carried successfully into execution, by the zeal and activity of the officers and crews of the Isis man of war, and of two frigates which were the first that had sailed from England with succours, and who with great labour, conduct, and resolution, having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the passage was deemed practicable. The unexpected sight of the ships, threw the besiegers into the greatest consternation, which was not lessened by the immediate effect, of their cutting off all communication between their forces on the different sides of the river,

General

General Carleton, was too well versed in military affairs to lose any time in seizing the advantages which the present situation afforded. A small detachment of land forces which arrived in the ships of war, together with their marines, being landed with the utmost expedition, and joined to the garrison, the Governor immediately marched out at their head to attack the rebel camp. There he found every thing in the utmost confusion; they had not even covered themselves with an entrenchment, and having already begun a retreat, upon the appearance of our troops, they fled on all sides, abandoning their artillery, military stores, scaling ladders, and other matters of incumbrance. The flight was so precipitate as scarcely to admit of any execution; nor were the King's forces in any condition for a pursuit, if prudence could even have justified the measure. Some of the sick became prisoners. During this transaction, our smaller ships of war made their way up the river with such expedition and success, that they took several small vessels belonging to the enemy, and retook the Gaspee sloop of war, which they had seized in the beginning of the preceding winter.

1776,

May 6th.

Provinci-
als before
Quebec
put to
flight.

Thus was the mixed siege and blockade of Quebec raised, after a continuance of about five months. And thus was Canada preserved by a fortitude and constancy, which must ever be remembered with honour to the Governor and garrison. From this time the Provincials and all their followers experienced a continual series of losses and misfortunes, in that province. A number of their sick and wounded lay scattered about and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greatest danger of perishing under the complicated pressure of want, fear, and disease. To prevent this melancholy consequence, General Carleton

1776.



Carleton issued a proclamation * for their relief, which truly hospitable act alone, (distinct from all his military achievements) gives him deservedly the name of a generous, as well as great commander.

Additional
forces
arrive at
Quebec.

Towards the end of May, several regiments from Ireland, one from England, another from General Howe, together with the Brunswick troops, arrived successively in Canada; so that the whole force in that Province, when compleated was estimated to about 13,000 men. The general rendezvous was at Three Rivers, which lies half way between Quebec and Montreal; and at the computed distance of about ninety miles from each. This place lies on the north side of St. Lawrence, and takes its name from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whose waters are discharged thro' three mouths, into that great reservoir.

The

* *Proclamation by G. Carleton for the relief of the fugitive Provincials, after they had been driven from before Quebec.*

Proclamation
for their
relief.

WHEREAS I am informed, that many of his Majesty's deluded subjects, of the neighbouring provinces, labouring under wounds and divers disorders, are dispersed in the adjacent woods and parishes, and in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance; all captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent search for all such distressed persons, and afford them all necessary relief, and convey them to the general hospital, where proper care shall be taken of them: all reasonable expences which may be incurred in complying with this order shall be repaid by the Receiver General.

And, lest a consciousness of past offences should deter such miserable wretches from receiving that assistance which their distressed situation may require, I hereby make known to them, that as soon as their health is restored, they shall have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.

Given under my hand and seal of arms, at the Castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, this 10th day of May, 1776.

GUY CARLETON.

The Provincials continued their retreat till they arrived in the borders of the river Sorel, which falls into the St. Lawrence at the distance of about 140 miles from Quebec, where they joined some of those reinforcements that had not been able to proceed farther to their assistance; but the whole were now sunk in spirit, and debilitated in act. To complete their misfortunes, the small-pox had spread through all their quarters. 1776.

These discouraging circumstances were not sufficient to damp the spirit of enterprize in their leaders. A very daring, and not ill-laid plan, was formed for the surprize of the kings forces at the Three Rivers; which, if it had been attended with all the success it was capable of, might have been ranked among the most considerable military atchievements of that nature. Provincials repulsed at the Three Rivers.

The British and Brunswick forces were at this time much separated. A considerable body were stationed at the Three Rivers under the command of Brigadier General Frazer. Another under that of Brigadier General Nesbit, lay near them on board the transport. A greater than either along with the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips and the German General, Reidesel, were in several divisions by land and water, on the way to Quebec. The distance from Sorel was about fifty miles, and several armed vessels, and transports full of troops, which had got higher up than Three Rivers, lay full in the way.

In the face of all those difficulties, a body of about 2000 men, under the command of a Major General Thompson, embarked at Sorel in fifty boats, and coasting the south side of what is called the Lake of St. Peter, where the St. Lawrence spreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet, from whence they fell down the river by night, and passed to the other side, with

1776. with an intention of surprizing the forces under General Frazer. Three Rivers is rather to be considered as a long village, than a regular town; and the design was, that it should be attacked a little before break of day, and at the same instant, by a strong detachment from each end, while two smaller were drawn up in readiness to cover or support them. If the success should have proved complete, the design was extended to the destruction of all those vessels which lay near the shore.

The concurrent circumstances necessary to give effect to this design were too numerous, to afford any strong confidence of success. It was one of those bold undertakings which might have been productive of great advantage; but which was of too perilous a nature for any thing less than the most desperate situation of affairs to justify. They missed their time by about an hour, which, though they passed the armed ships without observation, occasioned their being discovered, and the alarm given at their landing. They afterwards got into bad grounds, and were involved into many other difficulties, which threw them into disorder and confusion. In this state they found General Frazer's corps in preparation to receive them, having landed several light six pounders, which were played upon them with great effect. While they were thus engaged in front, Brigadier Nesbit, whose transports lay higher up the river, landed his forces full in their way back.

Nothing was left but a retreat, the accomplishment of which was more to be wished for than hoped. Nesbit's corps kept the river side to prevent their escape to the boats, while Frazer's, in pursuit, galled them severely with their light artillery. Between both, they were driven some miles through a deep swamp, which they traversed with inconceivable toil, exposed to constant danger, and enduring

enduring every degree of distress. The British troops at length grew tired of the pursuit, and the woods afforded them a wished-for shelter. The first and second in command, with about 200 others, were taken prisoners. It will be easily conceived that our loss was trifling. 1776.

This was the last appearance of vigour shewed by the Provincials in Canada. The whole army having joined at Three Rivers, pushed forwards by land and water with great expedition. When the fleet arrived at Sorel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place some hours before, dismantled the batteries which they had erected to defend the entrance into that river, and had carried off their artillery and stores. A strong column was here landed under the command of General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorel to St. John's whilst the remainder of the fleet and army sailed up the river to Longueil, the place of passage from the island of Montreal to La Prairie on the Continent. — 14

Here they discovered that the Provincials had abandoned the city and island of Montreal on the preceding evening, and that if the wind had been favourable, they might have met at this place. The army was immediately landed on the Continent, and marching by La Prairie, crossed the Peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorel in order to join General Burgoyne at St. John's, where they expected a stand, and a strong resistance would have been made. *Montreal*

That General pursued his march along the Sorel without intermission; but with that caution necessary in a country not wholly cleared of the enemy, and where their last and most desperate efforts were to be expected. He arrived at St. John's on the evening of the 18th; where he found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing destroyed that could not be carried off. The Provincials acted *St. John's and Chamblee retaken.*

1776. in the same manner at Chamblee, and burned such vessels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they immediately embarked for Crown Point.—Though their flight was precipitate, they sustained no loss, and a General Sullivan, who commanded in the retreat, received public thanks for the prudence with which he conducted it, by which he saved their ruined army, at a time, they say, when it was encumbered with a vast multitude of sick, most of whom were ill of the small-pox.

All Canada recovered.

Thus was an end happily put to the war in Canada. The pleasure of which was, however, considerably checked, by the restraint which was now laid upon the further operation of the army in that quarter. For as the enemy were masters of Lake Champlain, it was impossible for the forces to proceed to the southward, until such a number of vessels were constructed or obtained, as would afford a superiority, and enable them to traverse that lake with safety. The doing this was a work of labour and time; for though six armed vessels were sent from England for that purpose, the falls of Chamblee rendered the means of conveying them to the lake highly difficult, and a matter which required much ingenuity and industry. A vast number of other vessels were also necessarily to be constructed both for conveyance and protection.

Affairs in North Carolina, continued.

The necessity under which we have seen Governor Martin obliged to seek refuge on board a ship of war in Cape Fear river, did not damp his ardour in the public service, nor restrain his attempts to reduce the Province of North Carolina to obedience. His confidence of success was increased, by the knowledge he had that a squadron of men of war with seven regiments, under the conduct of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, were to depart from Ireland on an expedition to the southern Provinces

vinces in the beginning of the year, and that North Carolina was their first if not principal object. He also knew that General Clinton, with a small detachment, was on his way from Boston to meet them at Cape Fear. 1776.

The connection he had formed with a body of desperate people, lately considered as Rebels to the King's government, now equally enemies to the Provincial establishment, who we have frequently had occasion to take notice of under the name of *Regulators*, as well as with the Highland emigrants, seemed to insure the reduction of the insurgents, even independent of the expected force. That colony was deemed the weakest in America, except Georgia; and the two parties we have mentioned were numerous, active, daring, and the former were at this time, as well as the latter, zealously attached to the royal cause. The Highlanders were considered as naturally warlike, and the Regulators, from situation, habits, and manner of living, to be much bolder, hardier, and better marksmen than those who had been bred to other courses, and in more civilized parts of the country.

The Governor sent several commissions to these people for the raising and commanding of regiments, and granted another to a Mr. M'Donald to act as their general. He also sent them a proclamation, commanding all persons on their allegiance, to repair to the royal standard, which was erected by General M'Donald about the middle of February. M'Donald's commission.

Upon the first advice of their assembling at a place called Cross Creek, Brigadier General Moore immediately marched at the head of the Provincial regiment which he commanded, with such militia as he could suddenly collect, and some pieces of cannon, within a few miles of them, and took possession of Rockfish-bridge. Bri. Gen Moore takes possession of Rockfish-bridge.

pos-

1776. possession of an important post called Rockfish-
Bridge, which, as he was much inferior in strength,
he immediately entrenched and rendered defensible.
He had not been many days in this position, where
he was receiving and expecting succours, when Ge-
neral M'Donald approached at the head of his
Feb. 15. army, and sent a letter to Moore, inclosing the Go-
vernor's proclamation, and recommending to him
and his party to join the King's standard by a given
hour the next day, or that he must be under the ne-
cessity of considering them as enemies.

As Moore knew that the Provincial forces were
marching from all quarters, he protracted the ne-
gociation, in hopes that the Tory army, as they
called it, might have been surrounded. In his
final answer he declared, that he and his officers
considered themselves as engaged in a cause the
most glorious and honourable in the world, the de-
fence of the liberties of mankind; he reminded
the emigrants of the ungrateful return they made
to the kind reception they met with in the Colony;
and the General, with some of his officers, of an
oath they had taken a little before, and upon which
they were permitted to come into the country, that
they only came to see their friends and relations,
without any concern whatever in public affairs. In
return to the proclamation, he sent them the test
proposed by the Congress, with a proffer, that if
they subscribed it, and laid down their arms, they
should be received as friends; but if they refused
to comply, they must expect consequences similar
to those which they had held out to his people.

In the mean time, M'Donald perceived the dan-
ger he was in of being enclosed, and abruptly quit-
ting his ground, endeavoured with considerable
dexterity, by forced marches, the unexpected passing
of rivers, and the greatest celerity of movement,
to disengage himself. It seems, the great and imme-
diate

diate object in view with this party, was to bring Governor Martin, with Lord William Campbell, and General Clinton, who had by this time joined them, into the interior country, which they judged would be a means of uniting all the back settlers of the southern Colonies in the royal cause, of bringing forward the Indians, and of encouraging the well affected to shew themselves in all places. 1776.

The provincial parties were, however, so close in the pursuit, and so alert in cutting the country and seizing the passes, that M'Donald at length found himself under the necessity of engaging a Colonel Caswell, who, with a thousand militia and minute men, had taken possession of a place called Moore's Creek Bridge, where they had thrown up an intrenchment. The royalists were by all accounts much superior in number, having been rated from 1500 to 3000, the former number of which, M'Donald, after the action, acknowledged them to be. The emigrants began an attack with great fury; but M'Cleod, the second in command, and a few more of their bravest officers and men being killed at the first onset, they suddenly lost all spirit, and fled with the utmost precipitation, and, as the provincials say, deserted their General, who was taken prisoner, as were nearly all their leaders, and the rest totally broken and dispersed. Action at Moore's Creek-Bridge. Feb. 27.

This victory was a matter of great exultation and triumph to the Carolinians. They had shewn that their province was not so weak as was imagined; for though their force actually in the engagement was not considerable, they had raised 10,000 in about ten days. But what was still more flattering, and, perhaps not of less real importance, they had encountered Europeans (who were supposed to hold them in the most sovereign contempt, both as men and as soldiers) in the field, and defeated them with an inferior force. If the zeal of these people could have

1776.

have been kept dormant until the arrival of the force from Ireland, it seems more than probable that the southern colonies would have considerably felt the impression of such an insurrection. But now their force and spirits were so entirely broken, their leaders being sent to different prisons, and the rest stripped of their arms, and watched with all the eyes of distrust, that no future effort could be reasonably expected from them. Perhaps too great a dependence was laid on their power and prowess, while those of the opposite side were measured by a scale equally deceitful. It is, however, extremely difficult to regulate or restrain the caprice or violence of those leaders who assume authority in such seasons.

Mar. 3d.

Hopkins
strips the
Bahama
Islands of
stores &
artillery.

A Squadron of five frigates were sent out by the Congress early in the year, under the command of a Mr. Hopkins,* who sailed with them to Bahama islands; where they stripped that of Providence, which is the principal, of a considerable quantity of

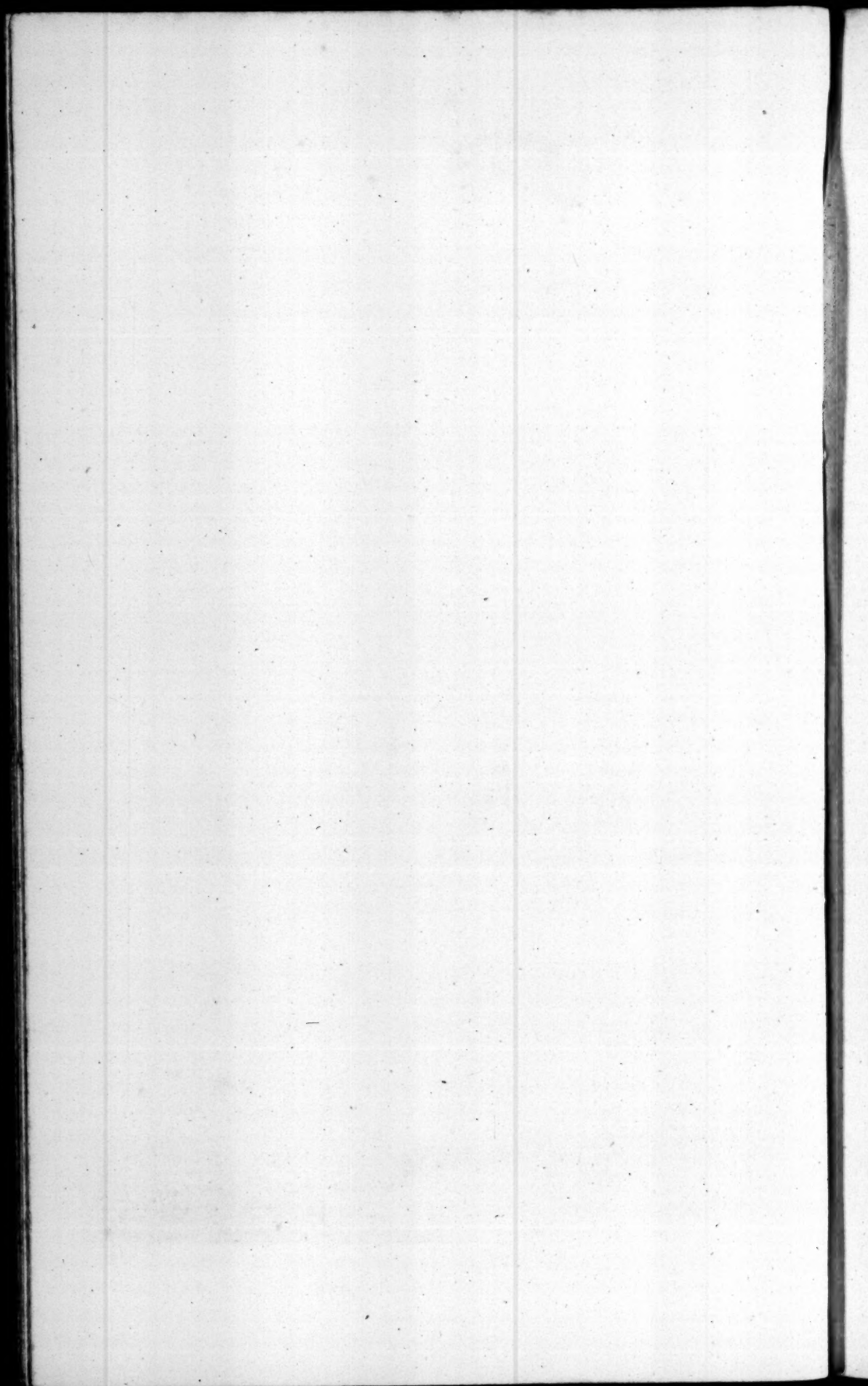
Character

* Mr. Robert Hopkins was born at Portsmouth in New England, in the year 1718. His father being in the sea service, and discovering an early inclination in his son towards that way of life, besides the Latin and Greek tongues, he had him taught the several branches of the mathematicks, particularly those of navigation, and at a proper age, when he had sufficiently acquired the theory, to add practice thereto, he put him an apprentice to a Mr. Wainwright, commander of the Joseph and Anne, a vessel of 250 tons burthen. It is to be presumed, old Mr. Hopkins reasons for indenting his son to another person rather than to himself was, lest he should presume too much on his paternal affection, and thereby probably neglect his other duties; but this caution however well intended, we are of opinion, was premature, our hero, in this capacity, omitting no opportunity of making himself master of every branch of sea-service, in testimony of which, at the expiration of his third year, capt. Wainwright made him his chief mate, in which station he behaved with great satisfaction to both captain and crew.

At the close of his apprenticeship he quitted the Joseph and Anne, and engaged as mate with an old school-fellow of his, who



ROBERT Hopkins, Esq.^R
Commodore of the AMERICAN Sea Forces



of artillery and stores; but were disappointed in the powder, which they most wanted, through the prudence

1776.

who had just got the command of a vessel at North Carolina, then bound from that port to London. In this passage, there arose some altercation between the master and mate, in consequence of a quondam mistress belonging to the latter, who was then aboard.

About this time the war with Spain raged with great violence, and men were greatly wanted for the navy; the press-gangs, and sloops upon the impress service swarmed every where, and the usual protections were of no avail. His captain, through pique, took this opportunity of parting with him; for being boarded by a man of war near the coast of Carolina, Hopkins with some of the common hands were impressed, and it proved useless to him to plead his protection as then chief mate, his captain telling the lieutenant, that he had been in such a station, but was then broke for mutinous behaviour, and therefore desired Hopkins to be sent aboard particularly, giving a charge to the lieutenant to have a strict eye over him, he being, as he said, of a desperate disposition,

This ship of war shortly after joined Admiral Vernon's fleet, where Hopkins was put on board the Burford, the flag ship. In this new station, he endeavoured to stifle his resentment to his late captain, and to conform himself to his present birth; in which he succeeded so well, that in a little time, he was observed not only to be an expert seamen, and able navigator, but of a quite contrary disposition to what he had been represented; and at the attack on Portobello, which soon followed, he gave an admirable specimen of his courage and conduct, all which being made known to his Admiral, our hero was ordered to walk the quarter-deck, and on his arrival in England, got to be rated as master's mate on board his Majesty's store ship, Prince Royal, capt. Edward Barber; and in the year 1747, having passed his examination at the Trinity House, he was appointed master of the Weazel sloop, in which station he continued till the peace.

In the year 1749 he returned home, just time enough to close his father's eyes, who divided his fortune equally between him and his step-brother, (a Mr. Whipple, who had proved a worthy and deserving young man). Mr. Hopkins then made his chief residence in America, and bought a vessel in which he traded to London, till the war broke out in the year 1755, when he

again

1776.  prudence of the Governor, who sent 150 barrels of it away in a small vessel, the night before they landed. They brought off the Governor, and some other public officers, as prisoners; and after taking several prizes in their return, fell in at length with the Glasgow frigate of war, accompanied with a tender, the latter of which they took, and the former escaped with difficulty after a very sharp engagement.

Lord
Dunmore
abandons
the coasts
of Vir-
ginia.

Lord Dunmore, with his fleet of fugitives, continued on the coasts and in the rivers of Virginia for a great part of the year; as every place was now strictly guarded, those unhappy people, who had put themselves under his protection, underwent great distresses. The heat of the weather, the badness of provisions, with the closeness and filth of the small vessels, in which they were crowded, by degrees produced that malignant and infectious distemper, which is known by the name of the Jail or Pestilential Fever. This dreadful disorder made great havock among them, but particularly affected the negroes, most of whom it swept away. After various

again pursuing the calls of honour, returned to the navy, and was master of several ships till the peace of 1763.

It had been regulated at that peace, that all commission and warrant officers should be employed for the space of three years in rotation. Mr. Hopkins waited with patience the first three years, and came to London in 1776, expecting to be employed in his turn, but being disappointed, and perceiving others of inferior abilities preferred, Hopkins could not condescend to solicit, and returned to America, throwing up his half-pay, and resolving to attach himself to his native country for the rest of his days.

When the American troubles made it necessary for the Congress to form a Marine, Mr. Hopkins, from his experience, courage, and abilities, was thought a proper person to be at the head of it. He accepted the commission with cheerfulness and how he has acted since, may be seen in the progress of this history.

various adventures, in which they were driven from place to place, and from island to island, by the Virginians, several of the vessels were driven on shore in a gale of wind, and the wretched fugitives became captives to their own countrymen. At length, every place being shut against, and hostile to the remainder, and neither water nor provisions to be obtained, even at the expence of blood, it was found necessary, towards the beginning of August, to burn the smaller and least valuable vessels, and to send the remainder, amounting to between 40 and 50 sail, with the exiles, to seek shelter and retreat to Florida, Bermudas, and the West-Indies. In this manner ended the hopes entertained by the employment of the negroes to suppress the rebellion in the southern colonies. This measure, rather invidious than powerful, tended infinitely to inflame the discontents in those colonies, without adding any thing to the strength of the royal arms. The unhappy creatures who engaged in it, are said to have perished almost to a man.

1776.

Fugitives
dispers'd.

It had for some time past been the fortune of the fleets, transports and victuallers, which had been sent to America, to meet with such exceedingly bad weather on their passage, such delays, and so many untoward circumstances of different sorts, as in a great degree frustrated the end of their destination. Sir Peter Parker's squadron, which sailed from Portsmouth at the close of the year, from an unexpected delay in Ireland, and bad weather afterwards, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various causes till the end of the month. There they found General Clinton, who had lately been at New-York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had seen Lord Dunmore, and finding that no service could be effected at either place with his small force, came thither to wait for them.

Sir Peter
Parker's
squadron
with L.
Cornwal-
lis and
troops,
arrive at
Cape FearThey
meet G.
Clinton.

1776.

Proceed
to Charles-
town.

The season of the year was much against the operations of the troops at this time in the southern colonies, the excessive heat having rendered them sickly, even at Cape Fear, notwithstanding the plenty of refreshments they procured, and the little labour they had upon their hands. Something, however, must be done, and Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, was within the line of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis's instructions. They had but little knowledge of General Howe's situation; the only information that General Clinton received of his evacuating Boston, being from the American news-papers. And it happened unluckily, that a vessel, which General Howe had dispatched from Halifax with orders for their proceeding to the northward, met with such delays in her passage, that she did not arrive in Cape Fear till after their departure.

June 1st.

Marine
force at
Charles-
town Bar.

The fleet anchored off Charlestown Bar in the beginning of June. They were joined before they proceeded to action by the Experiment man of war; and the naval force then consisted of the Commodore Sir Peter Parker's ship, the Bristol, of 50 guns; the Experiment, of the same force; the Active, Solebay, Acteon, and Syren frigates, of 28 guns each; the Sphynx of 20 guns, a hired armed ship of 22, a small sloop of war, an armed schooner, and the Thunder bomb-ketch. The passing of the Bar was a matter of time, difficulty and danger, especially to the two large ships, which, notwithstanding the taking out of their guns, and the using of every other means to lighten them as much as possible, both touched the ground and stuck several times.

The land forces were commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Brigadier General Vaughan. It was remarkable, that at the time General Clinton sailed from Boston, General Lee, at the

the head of a strong detachment from the army before that place, immediately set out to secure New-York from the attempt which it was supposed the former would have made upon that city. Having succeeded in that object, Gen. Clinton could not but be surprized at his arrival in Virginia, to find Lee in possession, and in the same state of preparation, in which he had left him at New-York. Upon his departure for Cape Fear, Lee again traversed the Continent with the utmost expedition to secure North Carolina. And at length, upon the further progress of the fleet and army to the southward, Lee again proceeded with equal celerity to the defence of Charlestown.

1776.

The first object of our forces, after passing the bar, was the attack of a fort which had been lately erected, though not made altogether complete, upon the south-west point of Sullivan's island. This fort commanded the passage to Charlestown, which lay farther west, at about six miles distance; and notwithstanding the lateness of its construction, was with propriety considered as the key of that harbour. It is said to have been represented to our commanders as in even a more imperfect state than it was found in; but if the description had been otherwise, it is not probable they would have expected that a raw militia could have been able, for any length of time, to have supported the great weight of fire from our ships, even excluding the co-operation of the land forces.

The troops were landed on Long Island, which lies nearer, to the eastward of Sullivan's; being separated only by some shoals, and a creek called the Breach, which are deemed passable at low water, the ford being represented to our officers as only eighteen inches in depth in that state. The Carolinians had posted some forces with a few pieces of cannon near the north-eastern extremity of Sullivan's

Troops
land at
Long-
Island.

1776.

livan's Island, at the distance of near two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the passage of the royal army over the Breach. General Lee was encamped with a considerable body of forces on the continent, at the back and to the north-ward of the island, with which he held a communication open by a bridge of boats, and could by that means, at any time, march the whole, or any part of his force, to support that post which was opposed to our passage from Long Island. The latter is a naked burning sand, where the troops suffered greatly from their exposure to the intense heat of the sun. But the fleet and army were greatly distressed through the badness of the water, that which is found on the sea coasts of South Carolina being every where brackish. Nor were they in a much better condition, with respect either to the quantity or quality of provisions.

June 28.

Attack
on Sul-
livan's
Island.

Notwithstanding the dispatch which these inconveniences rendered necessary, such delays occurred in carrying the design into execution, that it was near the end of the month before the attack upon Sullivan's Island took place; a season which was applied by the Provincials with great assiduity to the completion of their works. Every thing being at length settled between the commanders by sea and land, the Thunder bomb, covered by the armed ship, took her station in the morning, and began the attack, by throwing shells at the fort as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock, the Bristol, Experiment, Active, and Solebay, brought up directly against the fort and began a most furious and incessant cannonade. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to the westward, to take their station between the end of the island and Charlestown, partly thereby to enfilade the works of the fort, partly, if possible, to cut off the communication between the island and the continent, which would of course, cut off the retreat of the garrison, as well

as all succours from the latter; and partly to prevent any attempts that might be made by fire-ships or otherwise, to interrupt the grand attack. This part of the design was rendered unfortunate by the strange unskilfulness of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the shoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all stuck fast; and though two of them were in some time with damage and difficulty got off, it was then too late, and they were besides in no condition, to execute the intended service. The *Acteon* could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and stores from becoming a prey to the enemy.

1776.


Whilst the continued thunder from the ships seemed sufficient to shake the fierceness of the bravest enemy, and daunt the courage of the most veteran soldier, the return made by the fort, could not fail of calling for the respect, as well as of highly incommoding the brave seamen of Britain. In the midst of that dreadful roar of artillery, they stuck with the greatest constancy and firmness to their guns; fired deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; they were torn almost to pieces, and the slaughter was dreadful. Never did British valour shine more conspicuous, and never did our marine, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy, experience so rude an encounter. The springs of the Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time exposed in such a manner to the enemy's fire, as to be most dreadfully raked, the brave Captain Morris,* after receiving

* After having the two bones of his fore arm shattered by a chain shot, and receiving a wound from a ball in his neck, he was taken into the cock-pit, where he readily submitted to amputation, which was performed just above the elbow. During the operation a red-hot ball went through the cockpit, which

1776.

ing a number of wounds, which would have sufficiently justified a gallant man in retiring from his station, still with a noble obstinacy disdained to quit his duty, until his arm being at length shot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a possibility of a recovery. It is said that the quarter-deck of the Bristol was at one time cleared of every person but the Commodore, who stood alone a spectacle of intrepidity and firmness, which has seldom been equalled, never exceeded. The others on that deck were either killed or carried down to have their wounds dressed. Nor did Captain Scot, of the Experiment, miss his share of the danger or glory, who besides the loss of an arm, received so many other wounds that his life was at first despaired of.

The fire from the British ships was not thrown away; though it did not produce all the effect which was hoped and expected. But the fortifications were much firmer than they had been thought, and their lowness preserved them in a great degree from the weight of our shot. They were composed of palm-trees and earth, and the merlons were of an unusual thickness. The guns were at one time so long silenced, that it was thought the fort had been abandoned. It seems extraordinary, that a detachment

which killed two of the surgeon's assistants, and wounded the purser. After the confusion which this circumstance occasioned was over, Capt. Morris insisted on being carried on the quarter-deck to resume his command; which being complied with, he continued the fight for a considerable time after, till he was shot through the body. A prodigious effusion of blood following, and his dissolution being apparently at hand, one of the officers asked him, if he had any directions to give with respect to his family, to which he heroically answered, "None!—as he left them to the providence of God, and the generosity of his country!" His Majesty accordingly, immediately on receiving an account of this affair, sent the Captain's widow an handsome present, and settled a pension on her and her children.



Charles Dee Esq.
Major General of the American Forces

ment of the land forces were not in readiness on board the transports or boats, to profit of such an occasion. But these are only a part of the circumstances relative to the engagement which have never been sufficiently cleared up. The praise bestowed upon the garrison for the constancy and bravery of their defence, by the Americans in general, as well as by General Lee, shew that they neither abandoned their guns, nor were changed; however they might be, and undoubtedly were reinforced. It appears by their accounts, that the silence of the fort proceeded from the expenditure of all their powder, and their waiting for a supply from the Continent; which, probably, did not arrive the sooner, from the necessity of its being conveyed through the line of fire from the men of war.

During this long, hot, and obstinate conflict, the seamen looked frequently and impatiently to the eastward, still expecting to see the land forces advance from Long-Island, drive the rebels from their intrenchment, and march up to second their attack upon the fort. In these hopes they were grievously disappointed. Such various accounts have been given of the cause of this inaction of the land forces, that it is difficult to form any decided opinion upon the subject. The Gazette, from whence a satisfactory solution of all difficulties might be expected, is so totally defective and dissatisfactory, that it seems to have laid a foundation for every other error and contradiction relative to this business. That account says, that the King's forces were stopped by an impracticable depth of water, where they expected to have passed nearly dryshod. To suppose that the Generals, and the officers under their command should have been nineteen days in that small island, without ever examining, until the very instant of action, the nature of the only passage by which they could render service to their friends and fellows, fulfil the purpose of their landing, and

Probable
causes
for the
land for-
ces not
engaging
in this
attack.

an-

1776. answer the ends for which they were embarked in the expedition, would seem a great defect in military prudence and circumspection. But there might be reasons for concealing a true state of the affair. Until that state appears, it would be unjust to lay any imputation on the officers concerned in so critical a service. The only rational solution of the fact, must, for the present, be drawn from the different American accounts; from these it is to be inferred, that the post which the Provincials possessed at the end of Sullivan's Island, was in so strong a state of defence, the approaches on our sides so disadvantageous, and Lee's force in such preparation and capability of crushing us in the conflict, that General Clinton would have run the most manifest and inexcusable risque, of the ruin, if not total loss of his forces, if he had ventured upon an attack. To this may be added, that it was only upon a near approach, that our people acquired any certain knowledge of the force of the enemy.

The action continued, until the darkness of the night compelled that cessation, which the eagerness of the assailants, worn down as they were with fatigue, and weakened with loss, was still unwilling to accept. Sir Peter Parker, after every effort of which a brave man is capable, finding that all hope of success was at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly spent, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, withdrew his shattered vessels from the scene of action, after an engagement which had been supported with uncommon courage and vigour for above ten hours. The Bristol had 111, and the Experiment 79 men, killed and wounded; and both ships had received so much damage, that the Provincials conceived strong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not less emulous in the performance of their duty, being less pointed at than the great ships, did not suffer a proportional loss. The bomb vessels did not do
all,

all the service upon this occasion which was expected; whether it was from overcharging in consequence of having originally taken too great a distance, which has been said, or whether it proceeded from some fault in the construction which seems more probable; however, it was, the beds of the mortars were in some time so loosened and shattered as to become utterly unserviceable.*

1776.


Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received great and deserved applause from his countrymen for the courage and conduct by which he was so much distinguished in its defence. The garrison also received a great share of praise, and a serjeant was also distinguished by a present of a sword from the President of the Colony, for a particular act of great bravery.

* Including the loss that the Bristol and Experiment sustained, as before-mentioned, there was in the whole of this unsuccessful engagement, 175 killed, and near the same complement wounded, of as brave men as ever the British navy produced.

C H A P. XII.

The General Congress throw off their allegiance to Great Britain, and declare themselves an Independent Power.— Lord, and Gen. Howe appointed commissioners for restoring peace in the Colonies. Gen. Howe, with the army, land at Staten Island. Circular letter, sent by Lord Howe to the Continent, and published by the Congress. Letter to Gen. Washington, refused. Conference between Adjutant Gen. Paterſon, and Gen. Washington. Plots at New York, and Albany. Army landed at Long Island. Americans defeated with great loſs. Retire ſilently from their camp, and quit the iſland. Gen. Sullivan ſent upon parole with a meſſage from Lord Howe to the Congress. Fruitless conference between his Lordſhip and a Committee of the Congress. Deſcent on York Iſland; City of New York taken; ſet on fire, and a great part burnt. Army paſs through the dangerous navigation called Hell Gate; land at Frog's Neck; ſkirmiſh at the White Plains. Forts Washington and Lee taken, and the whole of York Iſland reduced. Jerſeys overrun. Rhode Iſland reduced.

1776.
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May 15.
Circular
letter
from the
Congress
for the
eſtabliſh-
ment of
new go-
vern-
ments in
the colo-
nies.

DURING the foregoing tranſactions, the Congress took an opportunity of feeling the general pulſe of the people, and of preparing them for the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCY which was to follow by a kind of *Circular Maniſeſto* to the ſeveral Colonies, ſtating the cauſes which rendered it, as they ſaid, neceſſary, that all authority under the crown ſhould be totally ſuppreſſed, and all the powers of government taken reſpectively into their own hands. In ſupport of this poſition they inſtanced the *Prohibitory Act*, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petition for redreſs of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their deſtruction. They concluded with a recommendation to theſe Colonies; whoſe government was not already ſufficient, to proceed to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a form, as was neceſſary to the preſervation of internal peace, and ſuited to the preſent exigency of their affairs, for the defence of
their

their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions, and cruel depredations of their enemies. 1776.

Pensylvania and Maryland were the only Colonies that in that part opposed the establishment of a new government, and the declaration of *Independence*. A majority in the assembly of the former, though eager for redress of grievances, regarded with horror every idea of a total separation from the parent state. But though they knew that great numbers in the Province held similar sentiments, they were also sensible, that the more violent formed a very numerous and powerful body ; that they had already taken fire at their hesitation, and considered them rather as secret enemies, than luke-warm friends. Their situation was besides difficult. If they broke the union of the Colonies, and thereby forfeited the assistance and protection of the others, they had no certainty of obtaining a redress of those grievances, nor the security of those rights, for which they were as willing to contend in their own way as the most violent ; but were not yet willing to give up all hope, nor to break off all possibility of accommodation. Thus critically circumstanced they declared that the question of *Independence* was a matter of too great importance for them to decide finally upon, and that they would therefore refer it to their constituents together with the arguments which had been used on both sides of the question.

It was manifestly a step from which it would not be easy to retreat. On one hand, the separation from Great-Britain, even if it could be finally accomplished, must be attended with many evident inconveniences. The protection of the great parent state, and the utility of the power of a common sovereign to balance so many separate, and, possibly, discordant commonwealths, besides many political and many commercial advantages derived from

1776. from the old union, must appear in a clear light to every sober and discerning person. On the other hand, it was said, that their liberty was their first good, without which all the other advantages would be of no value. That if they were to submit to a great standing army, composed of foreigners as well as English, composed in part even of their own slaves, and of savages, what terms were they to hope for? The moment their arms were laid down they must be at the mercy of their enemy. For what end did they take up these arms? If it was to secure their liberty, to lay them down without that security, would be to own that their first resistance was causeless rebellion; and the pardon offered, was the only satisfaction for the present, or security for the future, they were given to expect. Did they resist power only to obtain a pardon? Were they so absurd originally, or are they so cowardly now? If then their object is refused to all the entreaties by Great-Britain; if she abandons them to plunder without redemption, except on unconditional submission, how is the object of their resistance to be obtained? By war only. But as long as they acknowledged the claims of the crown of Great-Britain, so long will their councils and generals be destitute of all civil and military authority. The war they carry on must of course be irregular, feeble, and without the smallest prospect of success. Orders will be given, which none will be obliged to obey; and conspiracies and mutinies will be formed, which none will have a just power to punish or repress. Neither will any foreign power give them any support against the hostile combination of Great Britain, and so many foreign powers as she has called to her assistance, so long as they hold themselves to be subjects. We do not break the connection (said they), it is already broke and dissolved by an act of parliament; and thus abandoned, all laws human and divine, not only permit, but demand

mand of us, to provide every internal and external, means for our own preservation.

1776.

In these sentiments, by a reference to the people, the matter was brought to a fair trial of strength between the two parties; when it was carried by great majorities, that the Delegates should agree to the determination of the Congress. This decision, however occasioned much dissention in the Province, and founded a considerable party in opposition to the present government.

In Maryland, the delegates were instructed by a majority of seven counties to four, to oppose the question of Independency in the Congress; which they accordingly did; and having given their votes, withdrew totally from that assembly. But the horror of being secluded and abandoned, together with the reproaches of the others, and perhaps the dread of their resentment, soon gave a new turn to their conduct, if not the disposition of that province. The delegates were again instructed to return to the Congress, and to act there, as they thought best for the interest of their country. This completed the union of the colonies in that measure.

The fatal day at length arrived, which, (however the final consequences may be) must be deeply regretted by every true friend to the British empire, when *thirteen English colonies in America, declared themselves FREE and INDEPENDENT states*;* abjured all allegiance to the British crown, and renounced all political connection with this country. Such are the unhappy consequences of *civil contention*. Such the effects that may proceed from too great a jealousy of power on the one side, or an ill-timed doubt of obedience on the other.

July 4th.

Declara-
tion of
Indepen-
dence.

There

* See Appendix.

1776.

There were three principal objects proposed in the conduct of the British forces in the present campaign. The first was the relief of Quebec, and the redemption of Canada, which also included the subsequent invasion of the back parts of the Colonies by the way of the lakes. The second was the making a strong impression on the southern colonies, which it was hoped would at least have succeeded so far as to the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition against the city and province of New-York.

Of the two collateral parts of this plan we have already seen the event, so far as the first was yet capable of being carried into execution. On the third, the greatest hopes of success were not unjustly founded. Much the better part of the province of New-York is inclosed in islands, which being long and narrow, were exposed on all sides to the hostilities of our fleets, and to the descents of our troops, with every advantage in their favour, whilst they continued in a state of enmity. When reduced, the protection of the ships of war would be as effectual in their preservation, as their hostility had been in their reduction. The central situation of this Province afforded great advantages. The war could be carried on with equal facility either in Connecticut, and the Continent of New-York on the eastern side, or in New Jersey, and from thence to Pennsylvania on the western; or it might be transferred to and from either at pleasure. So that this position enabled the British commander to prescribe the scene of action, and to quit it when he liked; while if the army was withdrawn from the field, he might by the means of the great North river, and the different channels between the islands and the main land, with his ships and detachments harass and ruin the adjoining countries; at the same time that the Provincials however powerful could make no attempt on the islands, that would
not



Rich^d. Lord Viscount Howe
 REAR ADMIRAL of the WHITE
 And Commander in Chief of the Fleet in N. America.

not be attended with the greatest disadvantages, and liable to the most imminent danger. Another great object in view from this situation was, that if General Carleton could penetrate to Hudson's or the great North river, General Howe might thereby totally cut off all communication between the northern and southern provinces. To crown these advantages, Long Island which is very fertile in wheat and all other corn, and abounded with herds and flocks, was deemed almost equal in itself to the maintenance of an army. The inhabitants were also supposed to be in general well affected to the royal cause.

The attainment of these great objects, and the conduct of the grand armament which was necessary to the purpose, were committed to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother the General; men who stood high in the opinion and confidence of the nation, as well from their own merit and services, as from the military character and bravery of the family. To this service was allotted a very powerful army, consisting besides the national forces, of about 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers. The whole force, if the different parts of which it was composed could have been united in the beginning of the campaign, it was supposed, would have amounted to about 35,000 men. It will be easily conceived by those acquainted with military affairs, that all calculations of this nature, though founded upon the best official information, will far exceed even at a much nearer distance than America, the real effective number that can ever be brought to action. This force, when united, was, however, truly formidable, and such as no part of the new world had ever seen before. Nor, was it, perhaps, ever exceeded by any army in Europe of an equal number, whether considered; with respect to the excellency of the troops, the abundant provision of all manner of military stores, and warlike materials, or the good.

The forces under Lord and General Howe, with the nature of their commissions for restoring peace in the colonies.

1776.  goodneſs and number of artillery of all ſorts with which it was provided. It was beſides ſupported by a very numerous fleet, particularly well adapted to the nature of the ſervice. Beſides their military powers the General and Admiral were appointed the commiſſioners under the late Act of Parliament, for reſtoring peace to the Colonies, and for granting pardon to ſuch as ſhould deſerve the Royal mercy.

G. Howe,
with the
army,
leaves
Halifax.

The ſituation of the army at Halifax, and the long ſtay of above two months, which it was obliged to make there, ſtill waiting the arrival of ſome of the reinforcements from England to enable it to go upon ſervice, was neither pleaſing to the General nor comfortable to the men. The country was in no ſituation to afford them a ſufficient ſupply of proviſions or neceſſaries; nor was the place even capable of providing quarters on ſhore, for the private men, who were obliged to continue on board the ſhips during the whole of their ſtay. As the ſummer advanced, the General grew impatient at the delay, and was probably further urged by the ſcarcity of proviſions. He accordingly, without waiting for his brother, or the expected reinforcements, departed with Admiral Shulldham, and the fleet and army, from Halifax, about the 10th of June, and near the end of the month, arrived at Sandy Hook, a point of land that ſtands at the entrance into that confluence of ſounds, roads, creeks, and bays, which are formed by New-York, Staten, and Long Iſlands, the continent on either ſide, with the North and Rareton rivers.

Is joined
by fix
trans-
ports
with
troops.

On their paſſage they were joined by fix transports with Highland troops on board, who were ſeparated from ſeveral of their companions in the voyage. It appeared ſoon after, that ſome of the miſſing ſhips, with about 450 ſoldiers, and ſeveral officers,

officers, were taken by the American cruizers, 1776. The General found every approachable part of the island of New-York strongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by little less than an army. The extent of Long Island did not admit of its being so strongly fortified, or so well guarded; it was, however in a powerful state of defence; had an encampment of considerable force on the end of the island near New-York, and several works thrown up on the most accessible parts of the coasts as well as at the strongest internal passes.

Staten Island, being of less value and consequence, July 3d. was less attended to. The General landed without opposition, to the great joy of those of the inhabitants who had suffered for their loyalty; and the troops being cantoned in the villages received plenty of those refreshments which they so much wanted. He was met by Governor Tryon, with several well affected gentlemen who had taken refuge with him on board a ship, at Sandy Hook, who gave him a full account of the state and disposition of the Province, as well as of the strength of the enemy. He had the satisfaction of being joined by about sixty persons from New-Jersey, who came to take arms in the royal cause, and about 200 of the militia of the island were embodied for the same purpose; which afforded the pleasing prospect, that when the army was in force to march into the country and protect the royalists, such numbers would join it, as would contribute not a little to bring the present troubles to a speedy conclusion, They land at Staten Island, and are joined there by several loyalists.

Lord Howe arrived at Halifax, about a fortnight — 14. after his brothers departure, from whence he proceeded to Staten Island, where he arrived before the middle of July. His first act was to send ashore, Ld Howe arrives at Halifax. by a flag, a *Circular Letter* to the several late Go-

1776. vernors of the Colonies,* acquainting them with
 his civil and military powers, and desiring that
 they would publish, as generally as possible for the
 information of the people, a Declaration which ac-
 companied the letter. In this piece he informed
 the

Circular
 letter,
 sent by
 Ld. Howe
 to the
 Continent

* *Genuine Correspondence between Lord Howe and Dr. Franklin.*

As the subject of the following *authentic letters*, the time when they were written, and the rank and reputation of the writers, render them of much importance to the public, we cannot doubt of their being acceptable to the generality of our readers.

Eagle, June 20, 1776.

“ I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I have sent you, in the state I received them, to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

“ You will learn the nature of my mission from the official dispatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated, I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable, in the objects of the king’s paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people, I shall, from every private, as well as public motive, most heartily lament that it is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you personally of the regard with which I am

“ Your sincere and faithful

Humble servant

HOWE.

“ P. S. I was disappointed of the opportunity I expected for sending this letter at the time it was dated, and have been ever since prevented by calms and contrary winds, from getting here to inform General Howe of the commission with which I have the satisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

Off Sandy Hook, 12 July,

Superfcribed

To Benjamin Franklin,
 Esq. Philadelphia.”

the people of the powers of which his brother and he were endued under the late act of parliament, 1776.
of

“ Philadelphia, July 30, 1776.

“ I Received safe the letters your lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to except my thanks.

“ The official dispatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than we had seen in the act of parliament, viz. offers of pardon upon submission; which I was sorry to find, as it must give your lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

“ Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of encreasing our resentment. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns, in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear: but were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you, I mean the British nation, to forgive the people you have so heavily injured: you can never confide again in those as fellow-subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom, you know, you have given just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, if we are again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity.

“ But your lordship mentions, ‘the king’s paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies.’ If by peace is here meant a peace to be entered into by distinct states, now at war, and his majesty has given your lordship power to treat with us; of such peace, I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances: but I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though (by punishing those American governors who have fomented the discord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing as far as possible, the mischiefs done us) she might recover a great share of our regard, and the greatest share

1776. of granting general or particular pardon to all those, who, in the tumult and disaster of the times, might

share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength, to be derived from a friendship with us; yet I know too well her abounding pride, and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest, as a warlike nation; her lust of dominion, as an ambitious one; and her thirst for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one, (none of them legitimate causes of war) will all join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and will continually goad her on, in these ruinous distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croisades formerly were to most of the nations in Europe.

“ I have not vanity, my lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed, till the event shall verify it.

Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble china vase, the British empire; for I know, that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their shares of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of these parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheeks, when at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief, I was labouring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country, and among the rest, some share in the regard of Lord Howe.

“ The well-founded esteem, and permit me to say, affection which I shall always have for your lordship, make it painful for me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as described in your letter, ‘ is the necessity of preventing the American trade from passing into foreign channels:’ to me it seems that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each others blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, are the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies.

might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour, and of declaring any colony, province, county, town, port, district, or place, to be at the peace of his Majesty; in which case, the penal provisions of that law would cease in their favour. It also promised that a due consideration should be had to the services of all persons who contributed to the restoration of the public tranquillity. 1776.

These papers being immediately forwarded by General Washington to the Congress, were as speedily published by them in all the news-papers, with a preface or comment of their own, in the form of a Resolution; that the publication was in order that the people of the united states might be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the court of Great-Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remained suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of that court, might now at length be convinced, that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties. Re-published by the Congress.

At

armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both *unjust* and *unwise*; and I am persuaded that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonour those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

“ I know your great motive in coming hither, was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and believe, that when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given to propose, you will relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station.

“ With the greatest and most sincere respect, I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.”

Directed

To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Howe.

1776.

Letter to
General
Washington,
refused.

At and about the same time, different flags were sent ashore by Lord Howe, accompanied by some of his officers, with a letter directed to George Washington, Esq; which that General refused to receive, as not being addressed with the title, and in the form, due to the rank which he held under the United States. The Congress highly applauded the dignity of this conduct in a public resolution passed for the purpose; by which they directed for the future, that none of their commanders should receive any letter or message from the enemy, but such as would be directed to them in the characters which they respectively sustained.

Conference
between
Adj. Gen.
Paterfon,
and Gen.
Washington.

At length, Adjutant-General Paterfon was sent to New-York by General Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. That General received him with great politeness, and the usual ceremony of blindfolding, in passing through the fortifications, was dispensed with in his favour. The Adjutant regretted in the name of his principals, the difficulties which had arisen with respect to addressing the letter; declaring their high esteem for his person and character, and that they did not mean to derogate from the respect due to his rank; and that it was hoped the *et cetera*'s would remove the impediments to their correspondence. The General replied, that a letter directed to any person in a public character should have some description or indication of it, otherwise it would appear a mere private letter; that it was true the *et cetera*'s implied every thing, but they also implied any thing; and that he should absolutely decline any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station.

A long conference ensued on the subject of prisoners, and the complaints which were made on both sides, particularly by the Congress, relative to the treatment they received. The Adjutant having observed

served that the commissioners were armed with great powers; that they would derive the greatest pleasure from effecting an accommodation; and that himself wished to have that visit considered as making the first advance towards that desirable object; he received for answer, among other things, that by what had appeared, their powers were only to grant pardons; that those who had committed no fault wanted no pardon; and that they themselves were only defending what they deemed their indisputable right. The Adjutant was received by General Washington in great military state, and the utmost politeness was observed on both sides.

Some small time previous to the arrival of the fleet and army, plots in favour of the royal cause were discovered in New-York and Albany, which were productive of much trouble. Some few executions took place, great numbers were confined, and many abandoning their houses, under the operations of their fears, were pursued as outlaws, and enemies to their country. The estates of those unfortunate people, against whom there were proofs, were seized. In the mean time, new forms of government, (under the usual title of Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, &c.*) were established in all the colonies, they deeming the former Articles insufficient to co-operate with their new system of Independence. These Articles, as well as the Declaration of Independence were published in all the colonies, and every where received and accompanied with the greatest public testimonials of joy. This confidence and boldness in the midst of so untried and dangerous a struggle, and at the eve of so formidable an invasion, shewed either great presumption, a knowledge of internal strength, or a certainty of foreign support at a period which appeared alarming.

1776.

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Plots at  
New York  
and Al-  
bany.Congress  
establish  
new  
forms of  
govern-  
ment.

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\* The reader will see these Articles inserted at large in the Appendix.

1776.

Additional  
forces from  
Great  
Britain  
arrive at  
New-  
York.

The first division of Hessians, with the British troops by whom they were accompanied, sailed directly from England to Halifax, as Lord Howe had done, being still ignorant of the General's departure from that place. By this means the month of August was considerably advanced before their arrival at New-York, and it was of course some days longer before any expedition of importance could be undertaken by the commissioners. In the mean time they were joined by Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton, with the squadron and forces for South Carolina, as well as by some regiments from Florida and the West Indies.

All the forces being now arrived, except about one half of the Hessians, who though on their way, were not speedily expected, an attempt upon Long-Island was resolved upon, as being more practicable, and therefore better fitted for the first essay than New-York, as affording a greater scope for the display of military skill and experience, and as abounding with those supplies which so great a body of men as were now assembled by sea and land necessarily demanded.

Aug. 22.

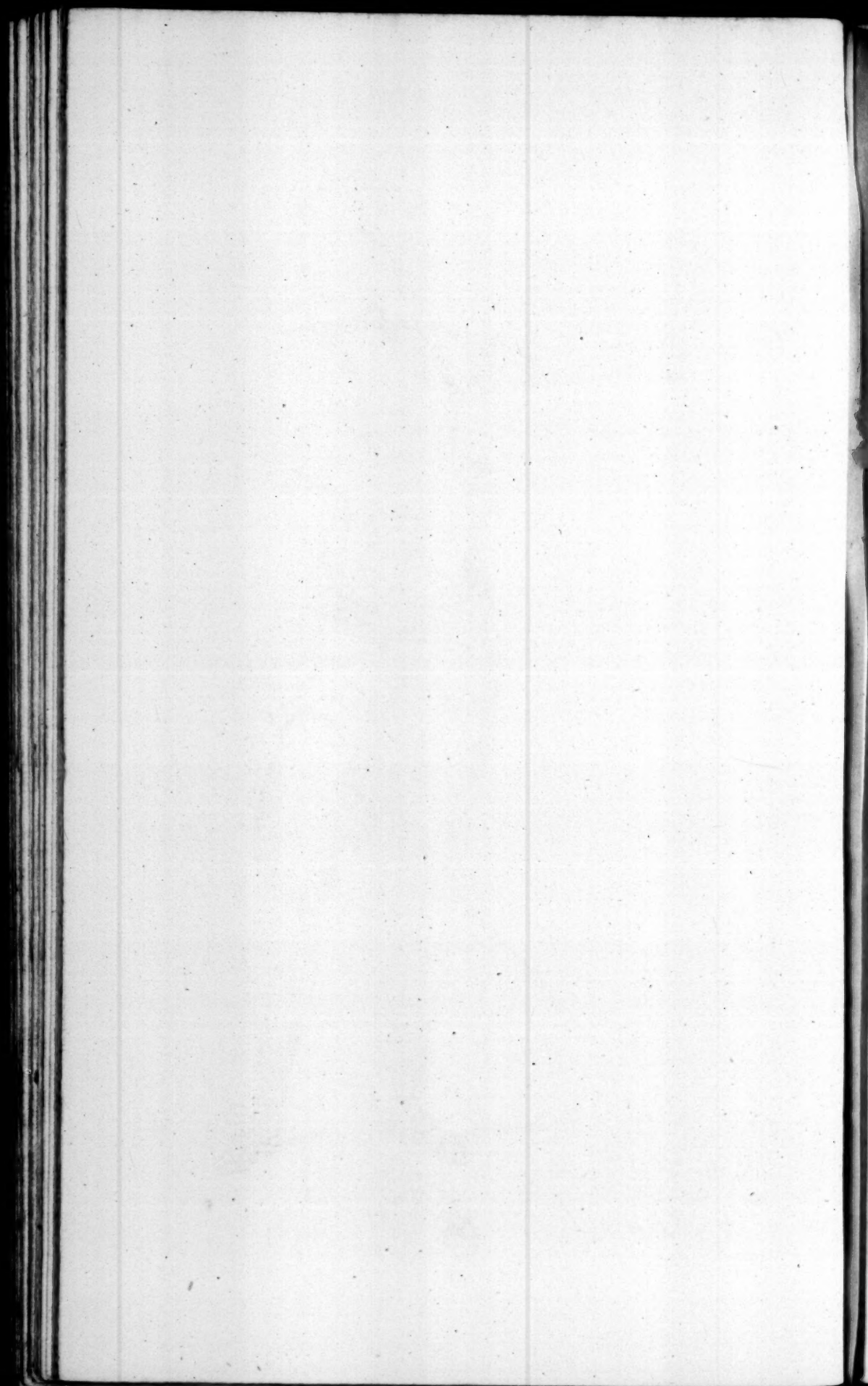
Army  
landed at  
Long-  
Island.

The necessary measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent, the army was landed without opposition near Utrecht and Gravesend, on the south-west end of the island, and not far from the Narrows where it approaches closest to Staten-Island. General Putnam was at that time with a strong force encamped at Brookland or Brooklyn, at a few miles distance, on the North coast, where his works covered the breadth of a small Peninsula, having what is called the East River, which separated him from New-York on his left; a marsh, which extended to Gowan's Cove, on his right; with the bay and Governor's Island to his back. The armies were separated by a range of hills covered with wood, which intersect the country from east,



*General* PUTNAM.





east, to west, and are, in that part called the Heights of Guana. The direct road to the enemy lay through a village called Flat Bush, where the hills commenced, and near which was one of the most important passes. As the army advanced, the north coast was to the left, the south on the right, and Flat Bush was nearly in the center between both. The Island in that part is kept narrow by Jamaica bay, on the right, but soon widens. General Putnam had detached a considerable part of his army to occupy the woody hills, and possess the passes; and if the commanders upon this service had been skilful and vigilant, they could not have been easily passed.

1776.

Position  
of the  
Provin-  
cial and  
British  
armies,  
previous  
to the at-  
tack on  
that  
Island.

Lord Cornwallis pushed on immediately, with the reserve, and some other troops, to Flat Bush, where finding the enemy in possession of the pass, he complied with his orders in making no attempt upon it. When the whole army was landed, the Hessians, under General Heister, composed the center at Flat Bush; Major General Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coast; and the principal army, containing much the greater part of the British forces, under the command of General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, turned short to the right, and approached the opposite coast at Flat Land.

Every thing being prepared for forcing the hills, and advancing towards the enemies lines, General Clinton, at the head of the van of the army, consisting of the light infantry, grenadiers, light horse, reserve under Lord Cornwallis, and other corps with fourteen field pieces, began as soon as it was dark on the night of the 26th, to move from Flat Land, and passing through that part of the country called the New Lots, arrived upon the road which crosses the hills from Bedford to Jamaica, where turning to the left towards the former of these places,

X x

they

1776.

they seized a pass of the utmost importance, which through some unaccountable and fatal neglect of the enemy's Generals, was left unguarded. The main body under Lord Percy with ten field pieces, followed the van at a moderate distance, and the way being thus happily open, the whole army passed the hills without noise or impediment, and descended by the town of Bedford into the level country which lay between them and Putnam's lines.

Aug. 27.  
Attack  
commen-  
ces.

The engagement was begun early in the morning by the Hessians at Flat Bush, and by General Grant on the coast, and a warm cannonade, with a brisk fire of small arms, was eagerly supported on both sides for some hours. In the mean time, the ships made several motions on the left, and attacked a battery on Red Hook, not only to distract the right of the enemy, who were engaged with General Grant, but to call off their attention totally from the left and rear, where all their danger lay. Those who opposed the Hessians in the left were the first apprized of the march of the British army, and of their own danger. They accordingly retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order, with their artillery, in order to recover their camp, but soon found themselves intercepted by the King's troops, who furiously attacked, and drove them back into the woods. There they again met the Hessians, and were alternately chased and intercepted by the light infantry and dragoons. In these desperate circumstances, some of the regiments, overpowered and outnumbered as they were, forced their way to the lines, thro' all the difficulties and dangers that opposed and surrounded them. Others, perhaps not less brave, perished in the attempt. Some kept the woods and escaped; others, less fortunate, were lost under the same protection. The nature of the country, and variety of the ground, occasioned a continuance and extension of small engagements, pursuits, and slaughters, which lasted for many hours.

Never



Never was any body of men more effectually entrapped: their right, which was engaged with General Grant on the coast, were so late in their knowledge of what was passing, that they were intercepted in their retreat by some of the British troops, who, besides turning the hills on their left, had in that morning traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. Such of these as did not chuse to take to the woods, which were the greater number, were obliged to throw themselves into the marsh at Gowan's Cove, which we have already taken notice of, where many were drowned, and others perished more miserably in the mud: a considerable number, however, made their escape this way to the lines, though they were thinned in every part of the course by the fire of the pursuers.

1776.

Americans defeated with great slaughter.

Their loss was represented as exceeding 3000 men, including about 1000 who were taken prisoners. Almost a whole regiment from Maryland, consisting altogether of young men of the best families in the country, was cut to pieces. Undoubtedly their loss must have been great, though they do not acknowledge any such number in their accounts, as that specified in the underneath return,\* transmitted to government by General Howe.

An account of the killed and wound'd, with the captures of both armies.

This action however broke their spirits exceedingly. They not only lost a number of their best and bravest men, but the survivors lost that hope of success, and confidence in their own prowess, which are so essential to victory. New soldiers, in the fulness of spirits and pride of bodily strength, can

\* *Return of Prisoners taken on Long-Island, 27th Aug. 1776.*

#### COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

| Three Generals            | Three Colonels.                |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Major Gen. Sullivan,      | Pennsylvania rifle regiment, 1 |
| Brig. Gen. Lord Stirling, | ———— musketeers, 1             |
| Brig. Gen. Udell,         | New Jersey militia 1           |
|                           | Four                           |

1776. can scarcely conceive any advantage over them,  
 which the old can derive from discipline and a know-  
 ledge

|                            |    |                          |      |
|----------------------------|----|--------------------------|------|
| Brought over               | 6  |                          | 49   |
| Four Lieut. Colonels.      |    | 17th Continental reg.    | 6    |
| Pensilvania rifle regiment | 1  | Delaware battalion       | 2    |
| —militia                   | 2  | 1st Bat. New York Conti. | 5    |
| 17th Continental regiment  | 1  | 11th Bat. Continental    | 1    |
| Three Majors.              |    | New Jersey Militia       | 1    |
| Pensilvania Militia        | 1  | 1st Bat. Maryland indep. | 2    |
| 17th Continental regiment  | 1  | Long-Island militia      | 2    |
| 22d ditto.                 | 1  | Train of artillery       | 1    |
| Eighteen Captains.         |    | Maryland Provincials     | 5    |
| Pensilvania 1st reg.       | 2  | Eleven Ensigns.          |      |
| —musketeers                | 4  | Pensilvania musketeers   | 4    |
| —militia                   | 5  | 17th Continental reg.    | 5    |
| 17th Continental reg.      | 4  | Maryland Provincials     | 2    |
| Train of artillery         | 1  | STAFF.                   |      |
| Maryland Provincials       | 2  | Adjutant                 | 1    |
| Forty-three Lieutenants    |    | Surgeons                 | 3    |
| Provincial rifle reg.      | 11 | Volunteers               | 2    |
| Pensilvania musketeers     | 2  | Privates                 | 1006 |
| —militia                   | 6  |                          |      |
|                            |    |                          | 1097 |
|                            | 49 | (Signed) JOS. LORING.    |      |

*Return of BRASS and IRON Ordnance, taken in this engagement.*

|                               |                                 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| B R A S S.                    | 8 Six-pounders                  |
| 1 Five-and-half-inch howitzer | 3 Three-pounders                |
| 4 Six-pounders                | Total of Ordnance 32 pieces.    |
| 1 Three-pounder.              | A quantity of shot, shells, am- |
| I R O N.                      | munition, intrenching tools,    |
| 6 Thirty-two-pounders         | small arms, a number of long    |
| 1 Twenty-four-pounder         | pikes, ammunition carts and     |
| 4 Eighteen-pounders           | many other articles not ascer-  |
| 2 Twelve-pounders             | tained.                         |
| 2 Nine-pounders               | (Signed) W. HOWE.               |

*Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of his Majesty's forces.*

|                                |                            |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| K I L L E D.                   | W O U N D E D.             |
| Cap. Sir A. Murray, 17th reg.  | Lieut. Morgan, 17th reg.   |
| Lieut. Col. Grant, 40th        | Capt. Grove, 23d ditto     |
| Cap. Nelson, 52d               | Lieut. Crammond, 42d ditto |
| Cap. Logan, 2d reg. marines.   | Lieut. Mair, 43d ditto     |
| Second Lieut. Lovell, roy art. | Lieut. Weir, of ditto      |
| 3 Serjeants                    | Cap. Brown, 44th ditto     |
| 53 Rank and File               | Cap. Kennedy of ditto.     |
|                                | Lieut.                     |

ledge of their business. And if they are well commanded, and skilfully led to action in this temper, so that their opponents are deprived of an opportunity of turning these advantages to account, they will do wonderful execution: for not being yet capable of thoroughly comprehending danger, nor having known by experience the pain and vexation of wounds, they are often more daring, adventurous, and violent than veterans. But if, as in the present instance, they find courage, and strength totally useless; that when they are making the greatest, and, as they think, most effectual efforts they find them all thrown away, and that they are surrounded, overpowered, and destroyed, by means which they cannot understand, they withdraw all due confidence from those things on which they had before placed too much, and ascribe an irresistible power to military skill and discipline, which they do not really possess. Thus they abandon their natural strength, and it will be some time before they have confidence enough in their new knowledge to call it effectually into action.

1776.

Great errors seem to have been committed on the side of the provincial commanders. They say, that a body of not more than four or five thousand men was surrounded by the whole force of the British army. They endeavour to palliate their misconduct

Lieut. Brown of ditto,  
Lieut. col. Monckton, 45th do  
Lieut. Powell, 49th ditto,  
Lieut. Addison, 52d ditto.  
Lieut. Nugent, 1st reg. mar.  
11 Serjeants  
3 Drummers  
231 Rank and File

## MISSING.

Lt. Ragg, 2d reg. mar. pris.  
1 Serjeant  
29 Rank and File.

Total loss of British troops 347

## Hessian Troops.

Major Paoli.  
Cap. O' Reilly.  
Lieut. Donop.  
23 Rank & file.  
2 Rank and file, killed.

} wounded.

Total loss of Hessians, 28.

(Signed)

W. HOWE.



1776.

duct in getting into that situation by representing, that they had no idea that more than about that number of British troops were landed on the island. It does appear as if no more had landed in the first embarkation, but either from a change or concealment of plan, very great bodies were afterwards embarked and passed. The provincials too, as usual with men in misfortunes, hinted treachery in some of those who were employed to discover the motions of their enemy, and to guard the passes, by the occupying of which they had been surrounded.

Nothing could exceed the spirit and alacrity shewn by all the different corps of which the British army was composed in this action. The ardour of the soldiers was so great, that it was with difficulty the Generals could call them off from attacking the enemy's lines, in the eagerness of their pursuit after the fugitives. Nor is it improbable, in that temper, that they would have carried every thing before them. It may be supposed that the emulation between the foreign troops and the British did not lessen the desire of being distinguished on either side in this their first action. Too much praise cannot be given to the ability which planned this enterprise, nor to the promptness and exactitude with which the several Generals carried their respective parts of it into execution.

Three of the provincial commanders; viz. Major Gen. Sullivan, with the Brigadiers General Lord Stirling\* and Udell, and 10 other field officers, were  
among

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\* As the name of the abovementioned Lord Stirling is not in the list either of the English, Scotch, or Irish peers, the following account of him may be acceptable to our readers. His father, Mr. Alexander, (for that is his real name) went over to America many years ago, where he acquired a considerable estate, and where the present Lord Stirling was, it is believed, born. Upon the death of Lord Stirling, a Scotch Peer, whose name was Alexander, either the late or the present Mr Alexander

among the prisoners. The loss on the side of the British and Hessians was very trifling, being under 380 in killed and wounded; of which the latter did not compose one fifth. The victorious army encamped in the front of the enemy's works on that evening, and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form at 600 yards distance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left. 1776.

General Washington passed over from New-York during the engagement, and is said to have burst into a poignant exclamation of grief when he beheld the inextricable destruction in which some of his best troops were involved. Nothing was now left, but to preserve the remainder of the army on Long-Island. He knew that the superior power of the royal artillery would soon silence their batteries, and that if their lines were forced, which, in the present depression of spirits, and comparative weakness in number as well as discipline, there was little hope of preventing, they must all be killed or taken. If he attempted to strengthen them by reinforcements from New-York, he hazarded the loss of that island, which was already menaced on every side, and kept in continual alarm and apprehension by the fleet. A danger not less than any other was still to be considered; the men of war only waited for a fair wind to enter and take possession of the East river, which would have totally cut off all communication between the islands. In this situation, no hope remained but in a retreat; a matter of no small difficulty and danger, under the eye of so vigilant

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ander, came over to England, and laid claim to the title; when the cause was tried by the House of Lords, and the claim rejected; the Lords forbidding him to assume the title on pain of being led round Westminster-Hall, labelled as an impostor: but ever since, by the courtesy of his countrymen, he has been distinguished by the title of Lord Stirling. The first Lord Stirling obtained a grant of Long-Island; was the first that settled it with British inhabitants; and was at a great expence in supporting them. He died in 1640.

1776. vigilant an enemy, and with so powerful an army, flushed with success, close to their works. This arduous task was, however, undertaken, and carried into execution with great ability by General Washington. In the night of the 29th, their troops were withdrawn from the camp and their baggage, stores, and part of their artillery, were conveyed to the water side, embarked, and passed over a long ferry to New-York, with such wonderful silence and order, that our army did not perceive the least motion, and were surprized in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the guard (or, as they say, a party which had returned to carry off some stores that were left behind) in their boats, and out of danger. Those who were best acquainted with the difficulty, embarrassment, noise, and tumult, which attend even by day, and no enemy at hand, a movement of this nature with several thousand men, will be the first to acknowledge, that this retreat should hold a high place among military transactions.

Retire  
silently  
from  
their  
camp,  
and quit  
the  
island.

Gen. Sullivan sent upon parole with a message from L. Howe to the Congress.

Soon after the retreat from Long-Island, General Sullivan was sent upon parole with a message from Lord Howe to the Congress. In this he stated, that though he could not at present treat with that assembly as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of their members, whom he would consider for the present only as a private gentlemen, and would himself meet them at such place as they should appoint. He said, that he had in conjunction with the General, full power to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both, the obtaining of which had detained him near two months, and prevented his arrival before the *Declaration of Independency* took place. That he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say they were compelled to enter into the agreement.

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Benjamin Franklin L.L.D.  
*Envoy from the American Congress to the French Court.*

That if the Congress were disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked, might and ought to be granted to them; and that if upon the conference any probable ground of an accommodation appeared, the authority of Congress must be afterwards acknowledged, or the compact could not be complete.

1776.

The Congress returned for answer, that being the representatives of the Free and Independent States of America, they could not with propriety send any of their members to confer with him in their private characters; but that ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body to know whether he had any power to treat with persons authorised by Congress for that purpose, in behalf of America, and what that authority was, and to hear such propositions as he should think fit to make respecting the same.

Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, being appointed as a committee upon this occasion, waited accordingly upon Lord Howe in Staten-Island. The committee sum up the account of this conference, which they laid before the Congress in the following words: "Upon the whole, it did not appear to your committee, that his Lordship's commission contained any other authority of importance than what is contained in the Act of Parliament, viz. That of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the Commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the King's peace upon submission. For, as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his Lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any person the Commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversations to the ministry, (who provided the Colonies would subject themselves) might after all, or might not, at their pleasure,

Fruitless  
confer-  
ence be-  
tween,  
his Lord-  
ship and a  
Commit-  
tee of the  
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1776. make any alterations in the former instructions to Governors, or propose in Parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehend any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence.

In this manner the hopes of negotiation by the commissioners ended. They endeavoured to make amends for their failure in their civil capacity by the vigour of their military operations. The royal army being now divided from the island of New-York only by the East river were impatient to pass that narrow boundary. They posted themselves along the coast wherever they could see or front the enemy, and erected batteries to answer, if not to silence theirs. A fleet, consisting of considerably more than 300 sail, including transports, covered the face of the waters, while the ships of war, hovering round the island, threatened destruction to every part, and were continually engaged with one or the other of the batteries by which it was surrounded. The small islands between the opposite shores were perpetual objects of contest, until, by dint of well served artillery, the aid of the ships and the intrepidity of the troops, they secured those which were more necessary for their future operations. Thus, an almost constant cannonade was kept up for many days, and the troops who had so lately escaped from the most imminent danger, had little time to quiet their apprehensions.

Descent  
on York  
Island

Everything being at length prepared for a descent, several movements were made by the ships of war in the North River, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that side of the island. Other parts seemed equally threatened, and increased the uncertainty of the real objects of the attack. The seizure of the island of Montrefor, near Hell-gate, and

and erecting a battery on it to silence one which the Provincials had at Horen's Hook, seemed to indicate a design of landing in that part which was near the centre of New-York Island. 1776.

While the provincials were in this state of uncertainty, the first division of the army, under the command of General Clinton, with Earl Cornwallis, Major General Vaughan, Brigadier General Leslie, and the Hessian Colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newtown bay, which runs pretty deep into Long-Island, and where they were out of all view of the enemy. Being covered by five ships of war upon their entrance into the river, they proceeded to Kepp's Bay, about three miles North of New-York, where being less expected than in some other places, the preparations for defence was not so great. The works, however, were not inconsiderable, nor destitute of troops, but the fire from the ships was so incessant, and so well conducted, that they were soon abandoned, and the army landed without opposition. Sep. 15th City of New-York taken.

The enemy immediately abandoned the city of New-York, with their other posts in that part of the island, and retired towards the north end, where their principal strength lay.—They were obliged to leave their artillery, which was considerable, and their military stores, (of which except powder, there were plenty) behind. They sustained some loss in slain, and a greater in prisoners, as well in the retreat, as in the subsequent skirmishes which took place during the day. The fore remembrance of their late loss was strongly visible in every part of their conduct, and their own accounts acknowledged, that several of their regiments behaved ill.

A brigade of the British army having taken possession of New-York, the rest encamped not far from

1776.

from the centre of the island, with the right at Horen's Hook, on the East river, and the left at the North river, near Bloomingdale; thus occupying the extent of the island from shore to shore, which though about 16 miles in length, is not above one in breadth. The enemy was very strong in the north of the island, where they had great works erected, particularly at Kingsbridge, by which their communication with the continent of New-York was kept open, where the works were so considerable on both sides of the passage, that in their present state of force, they seemed to defy all attempts on either. Their nearest encampment was on the heights of Harlem, at the distance of about a mile and half. M'Gowan's pass, and the strong grounds called Morris's heights, lay between them and Kingsbridge, and were defensible against a very superior force. In this situation of both armies, frequent skirmishes of course happened, and it was found by degrees that their late apprehensions began to wear away.

Sep. 20,

New-York set  
on fire,  
and  
almost  
burnt.

General Howe had not been many days in possession of New-York, when some incendiaries, who probably had stayed behind and concealed themselves for that purpose, being determined, if possible, to prevent its being of any benefit to the conqueror, prepared combustibles with great art and ingenuity, and taking the advantage of dry weather and a brisk wind, set fire to the city about midnight, in several places at the same time. Thus near a third of this beautiful city was reduced to ashes, and nothing less than the courage and activity of the troops, as well as of the sailors who were dispatched from the fleet, could have preserved any part of the remainder. Many of the wretches who were, as it is said, concerned in this atrocious business, being detected, experienced a summary justice, and were precipitated by the fury of the soldiers into those flames which they had themselves kindled.

The



The General perceiving that no attempt could be made on the enemy upon the side of New-York, which would not be attended with great danger, without affording any equal prospect of success, determined at length upon a plan of operation, which would either oblige them to quit their present strong situation, or render their perseverance in holding it extremely dangerous. For this purpose the greater part of the army being embarked in flat boats and other small craft proper for the service, passed successfully through the dangerous navigation of Hell-gate, which forms a communication between the East river and the Sound, and landed at Frog's-Neck, near the town of West Chester, which lies on that part of the continent belonging to New-York, upon the side of Connecticut.

1776.

Army  
passes  
through  
the dan-  
gerous  
navigati-  
on called  
*Hell-gate.*

Oct. 12th

Lands at  
Frog's  
Neck.

Earl Percy, with two brigades of British troops, and one of Hessian, continued in the lines near Harlem to cover New-York. Though this movement was highly judicious in the present critical state of things, it seems as if it would have been extremely dangerous if General Washington had commanded a veteran army on whose performance he could rely, and that the corps under Lord Percy would in that case have been in great danger. It is however, to be observed, that the powerful fleet which surrounded that narrow island, would have afforded shelter and protection in almost any situation to which they could have been reduced. This fleet was of infinite service in all the operations of the campaign. In this the inferiority of the provincials was most felt, being totally destitute of any force of that nature.

The army was detained for some days at Frog's Neck, waiting for the arrival of the provisions and stores, and of a reinforcement which was drawn from Staten Island. They then proceeded through Pelham's Manor to New Rochelle, which lies on the coast

1776.

coast of the Sound, as that channel is called, which separates the continent from Long-Island. At this place they were joined to a greater part of a regiment of light horse from Ireland, one of the transports having been taken in the passage. They were also joined by a second division of Hessians under General Knyphausen, with a regiment of Waldeckers, both of which had arrived at New York since the departure of the army from thence.

The first object of this expedition was to cut off the communication between Washington and the Eastern Colonies; and then, if this measure did not bring him to an engagement, to enclose him on all sides in his fastnesses on the North end of York-Island. The King's troops were now masters of the lower road to Connecticut and Boston; but to gain the upper it was necessary to advance to the high grounds called the White Plains; a rough, stony, and mountainous tract; which, however, is only part of the ascent, to a country still higher, rougher, and more difficult. Upon the departure of the army to the higher country, it was deemed necessary to leave the second division of Hessians, with the Waldeck regiment, at New Rochelle, as well to preserve the communications, as to secure the supplies and provisions and necessaries that were to arrive at that port. Indeed the army was now so powerful, that it was enabled to support every service.

General Washington was not inattentive to the danger of his situation. He saw, that if he continued where he was, he would at length be compelled to commit the whole fortune of the war, and the safety of all the Colonies to the hazard of a general engagement; a decision, of which he had every cause to apprehend the event, and in which a defeat would be final, as there could scarcely be a possibility of retreat. His army likewise, which had  
been

been disheartened by their late misfortunes, was then much reduced by sickness, which the severity of the services, indifferent quarters, insufficient cloathing, the want of salt and other necessaries, joined to a slovenliness generally prevalent in America, had rendered general, and very fatal in his camp.

1776.

A grand movement was accordingly made, by which the army was formed into a line of small, detached, and entrenched camps, which occupied every height and strong ground from Valentine's Hill not far from Kingsbridge, on the right, to the White Plains, and the upper road to Connecticut, on the left. In this position they faced the whole line of march of the King's troops at a moderate distance, the deep river Brunx covering their front; and the North river at some distance in their rear, whilst the open ground to the last afforded a secure passage for their stores and baggage to the upper country. A garrison was left for the protection of Fort Washington, the lines of Harlem and Kingsbridge.

In this situation of the enemy, Gen. Howe thought it necessary to proceed with great circumspection. The progress was slow, the march of the army close, the encampments compact, and well guarded with artillery, and the most soldier-like caution used in every respect. This did not restrain the enemy from sending parties over the Brunx to impede their march, which occasioned several skirmishes, in which the royal army were generally successful. Upon the approach of the army to the White Plains, the enemy quitted their detached camps along the Brunx, and joining their left, took a strong ground of encampment before the British on the former.

Sep. 28.

Every thing being prepared for bringing the enemy to action, the army marched early in the

Skirmish  
at the  
White  
Plain.

morn.



1776. morning in two columns towards the White Plains, the left being commanded by General Heister. Before noon, all the enemies advanced parties being driven back to their works by the Light Infantry and Hessian Chasseurs, the army formed, with the right upon the road from Marmoroneck, at about a miles's distance from their center, and the left to the Brunx, at about the same distance from the right flank of their intrenchments.

A body of the enemy possessed an advantageous ground, that was separated from the right flank by the Brunx, and which also by its windings, covered that corps in front from the left of our army. As this post would have been of great consequence in attacking that flank of the entrenchments, Brigadier General Leslie, with the second brigade of British troops, the Hessian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, and a battalion of that corps, were ordered to dislodge the enemy. Previous to their attack, Colonel Ralle, who commanded a brigade of the Hessians on the left, had passed the Brunx, and gained a post, which enabled him to annoy the enemies flank, while they were engaged with the other forces in the front.

Though the passage of the river was difficult, it was performed with the greatest spirit, and the 28th, and 35th regiments, being the first that passed, formed with the greatest steadiness, under the enemies fire on the opposite side; they then ascended a steep hill, in defiance of all opposition, and rushing on the enemy, soon routed, and drove them from their works. No less alacrity was shewn by the other troops in supporting these two regiments. The gaining of this important post took up a considerable time, which was prolonged by the enemy's still supporting a broken and scattered engagement in defence of the adjoining walls and hedges. In the evening, the Hessian grenadiers were ordered forward

forward upon the heights within cannon shot of the entrenchments, the 2d brigade of British formed in their rear, and the two Hessian brigades, on the left of the second. The right and centre of the army did not remove from the ground upon which they had formed. In that position the whole army lay upon their arms during the night, with a full intention and in the highest expectation, of attacking the enemy's camp the next morning. 1776.

It was perceived in the morning that the enemy had drawn back their encampment in the night, and had greatly strengthened their lines by additional works. Upon this account the attack was deferred, and it was thought necessary to wait for the arrival of the 4th brigade, and of two battalions of the 6th, which had been left with Lord Percy at New-York. Upon the arrival of these troops, the necessary dispositions were made in the evening, for attacking the enemy early on the last of October; but an extreme wet night and morning prevented this design from being carried into execution.

In the mean time, General Washington had not the least intention of venturing an engagement, whilst there was a possibility of its being avoided. He knew that delay was in some sort victory to him. That small actions, which could not in the least affect the public safety, would more effectually train his men to service, and inure them to danger, than a general action, which might in one day decide their own, and the fate of America. It must be acknowledged, that in the course of this campaign, and more particularly in this part of it, he fully performed the part of no mean commander.

The American accounts say, that upon our covering four or five batteries with a powerful artillery, preparatory to an attack, together with the General's knowledge that by turning his camp, the Bri-

1776.

fish might become possessed of hills at his back which totally commanded it, he found it necessary to change his position. He accordingly quitted his camp on the night of the 1st of November, and took higher grounds towards the North Castle district, having first set fire to the town or village of White Plains, as well as to all the houses and forges near the lines. The British army on the next day took possession of their entrenchment.

General Howe seeing that the enemy could not be enticed to an engagement, and that the nature of the country did not admit of their being forced to it, determined not to lose time in a fruitless pursuit, and to take this opportunity of driving them out of their strong holds in York Island; an operation which their army could not now possibly prevent. For this purpose, General Knyphausen crossed the country from New Rochelle, and having taken possession of King's Bridge without opposition, entered York Island, and took his station to the north of fort Washington, to which the provincials had retired at his approach.

Fort Washington lies to the west of New-York Island, not far from King's Bridge, near Jeffery's Hook, and almost facing Fort Lee on the Jersey side, from which it was separated by the North River. This work though not contemptible, was not sufficient to resist heavy artillery; and it was by no means of a sufficient extent for any other purpose than the strengthening of lines. But the situation was extremely strong, and the approaches difficult.

A general  
assault  
against  
Fort  
Wash-  
ington.

The army having returned slowly by the North River encamped on the heights of Fordham, at a moderate distance from King's Bridge, with the river on its right, and the Bronx on the left. Every thing being prepared for attacking the Fort, and the com-



commander Colonel Magaw, refusing a summons to 1776.  
surrender, and declaring he would defend it to the   
last extremity, a general assault was determined up- Nov. 13.  
on, as saving the time that would be lost in regular  
approaches. The garrison consisted of near 3000  
men, and the strong grounds round the Fort were  
covered with lines and works. Four attacks were  
made at the same time. The first, on the North — 16th  
side, was conducted by the General Knyphausen, at  
the head of two columns of Hessians and Wal-  
deckers. The second on the East, was led on by  
Brigadier General Mathew, at the head of the 1st  
and 2d battalions of light infantry, and two batta-  
lions of guards, supported by Lord Cornwallis with  
the 1st and 2d battalions of grenadiers, and the  
33d regiment. These forces crossed the East river  
in flat boats, as the provincial works there extended  
the breadth of the Island, redoubts and batteries  
were erected on the opposite shore, as well to  
cover the landing of the troops, as to annoy those  
works which were near the water. The third attack,  
which was principally intended as a feint, to distract  
the enemy, was conducted by Lt. Col. Sterling,  
with the 42d regiment, who passed the East river  
lower down, between the 2d and 4th attacks. The  
last attack was made by Lord Percy with the corps  
which he commanded on the south of the Island.  
All the attacks were supported with a numerous,  
powerful, and well served artillery.

The Hessians under General Knyphausen had a  
thick wood to pass, where the provincials were very  
advantageously posted, and a warm engagement  
was continued for a considerable time, in which  
the former were much exposed, and behaved with  
great firmness and bravery. In the mean time the  
light infantry landed, and were exposed both be-  
fore and after to a very brisk and continual fire from  
the provincials, who were themselves covered by the  
rocks and trees among which they were posted.  
The

1776. The former however with their usual alertness and activity, extricated themselves by clambering up a very steep and rough mountain, when they soon dispersed the enemy, and made way for the landing of the rest of the troops without opposition. During these transactions, Lord Percy having carried an advanced work on his side, Col. Sterling was ordered to attempt a landing, and two battalions of the 2d brigade to support him. This service was effected by the Colonel with great bravery. He advanced his boats through a very heavy fire, which they bore with the greatest firmness and perseverance, and forcing his way up a steep height, gained the summit, and took 170 prisoners, notwithstanding a bold and good defence made by the enemy.

Garrison  
surrender  
prisoners  
of war.

In the mean time Colonel Ralle, who led the right column of General Knyphausen's attack, having forced the provincials, after a considerable opposition, from that strong post, in his line, pushed forward to their works, and lodged his column within an hundred yards of the Fort; and being soon after joined by the General with the left column, who had at length overcome the impediments which he met with in the wood, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. The loss on either side was not in any degree proportioned to the warmth, length, and variety of the action. The quantity of gun-powder found in the Fort was utterly inadequate to the purpose of almost the shortest defence. How so large a body was left with so poor a provision, is extremely unaccountable. But the narrative of all these transactions is hitherto very imperfect.

Fort Lee  
taken and  
great part  
of the Jer-  
seys over-  
run.

Upon this acquisition, a strong body of forces under the command of Lord Cornwallis was passed over the North River in order to take Fort Lee and make a further impression in the Jerseys. The garrison of 2000 men, had a narrow escape, by abandoning the Fort just before his Lordship's arrival, leaving

leaving their artillery, stores, tents, and every thing behind. The British troops afterwards overrun the greater part of both the Jerseys without opposition, the provincials every where flying before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunswick to the Delaware. If they had any means of passing that river upon their first arrival in its neighbourhood, there seems little doubt, considering the consternation and dismay which then prevailed among the provincials, that they might easily have become masters of the city of Philadelphia; but the former, very prudently, either destroyed the boats, or removed them out of the way. 1776.

During these successes in the Jerseys, General Clinton, with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of ships of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attempt upon Rhode Island. In this enterprize they succeeded beyond expectation. The provincials having abandoned the Island at their approach, they took possession of it without the loss of a man; at the same time that they blocked up Hopkin's squadron which was in the harbour of Providence, on the adjoining Continent. The squadron and troops continued here during the winter, where they had better quarters than any other of the King's forces. Hitherto the Royal army had succeeded in every object since their landing at Staten-Island. The Provincial army, besides the loss by sword, by captivity, and by desertion, began to dwindle to very small numbers, from the nature of their military engagement. They were only enlisted for a year; and the Colonists, who were but little used to any restraint, very ill brooked, even so long an absence from their families. At the expiration of the term, but few were prevailed upon to continue in service. Every thing seemed to promise a decisive event in favour of the royal arms, and a submission of some of the principal colonies was hourly expected. Dec. 8th



## C H A P. XIII.

*Retrospective view of American affairs in the year 1776. Preparation in Canada for the armament on Lake Champlain. State of the American force. Engagement near the isle Valcour. Arnold retires; pursuit; overtaken; burns his vessels. Crown point destroyed and abandoned. General Carleton lands there with the army. Motives for not attacking Ticonderoga. General Carleton returns with the army to Canada. Situation of affairs to the southward. General Lee taken. Perseverance of the Congress. Measures for renewing their armies. Lands allotted for serving during the war. Money borrowed. Address to the people. Petitions from the inhabitants of New York, and from those of Queen's county in Long Island, to the Commissioners. Critical state of Philadelphia. Congress retire to Baltimore. Divisions in Pennsylvania. Desertions. Surprizes at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis returns to the Jerseys. Prevented from attacking the enemy at Trenton by impediments of situation. General Washington quits his camp, and attacks Colonel Mawhood, near Princetown. Lord Cornwallis returns from the Delaware to Brunswick. Americans over-run the Jerseys. British and Auxiliary forces keep possession of Brunswick and Amboy, during the remainder of the winter. Indian war. Articles of confederation and perpetual union between the thirteen revolted Colonies.*

1776. **T**HE efforts to remove those obstacles that had restrained the progress of the British arms on the side of Canada, in this summer (1776,) were equal to the importance of the objects in view, and the greatness of the difficulties which were to be surmounted. The weight and execution of the naval equipment, fell of course upon the officers and men of that department; whose ability, zeal, and perseverance in the performance, can never be too much applauded. The task was indeed arduous. A fleet of above thirty fighting vessels, of different kinds and sizes, all furnished with cannon, was to be little less than created; for though a few of the largest were reconstructions, the advantage derived from thence depended more upon the use of materials, which the country did not afford, than upon any saving as to time, or lessening of labour. When

Preparation in Canada for the armament on Lake Champlain.

to this is added, the transporting over land, and afterwards dragging up the rapids of St. Thereſe and St. John's, thirty long boats, a number of flat boats of conſiderable burthen, a gondola, weighing 30 tons, with above 400 battoes, the whole preſented a complexity of labour and difficulty, which ſeemed ſufficient to appal even the ſpirit of Britiſh ſeamen. However it muſt be allowed that the labour did not fall ſolely on them. The ſoldiers had their part; and what is to be lamented, the peaſants and farmers of Canada were taken from their ploughs, and compelled by power to bear a ſhare in toils, from whence they could derive no honour or advantage.

1776.

Though the equipment was completed in about three months, the nature of the ſervice, as well as the eagernels of the commanders and army, required, if it had been poſſible, a ſtill greater diſpatch. The winter was faſt approaching, two inland ſeas to be paſſed, the unknown force of the enemy on each to be ſubdued, and the ſtrong poſts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga defended and ſupported by an army, to be encountered ſword in hand. To add to theſe impediments, the communication between the Lakes Champlain and George, did not admit the paſſage of thoſe veſſels of force, which, after being ſucceſſful on the one, might be equally wanted on the other. And if all thoſe difficulties were ſurmounted, and Lake George paſſed, there ſtill remained a long and dangerous march through intricate forests, extenſive moraffes, and an uncleared country, ſtill in a ſtate of nature, before they could reach Albany, which was the firſt poſt to the ſouthward that could afford them reſt and accommodation.

The ſpirit of the commanders roſe in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered. The objects in view were great, the glory to be acquired

1776.

quired tempting, and the desire of the attainment seemed to lessen or remove obstacles, which to a cold or lukewarm speculation would have appeared insuperable. If the Lakes could be recovered, and Albany possessed, before the severity of the winter set in, the northern army would hold a principal share in the honour of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. It was conceived that they could then pour destruction at will, into the heart either of the middle or the northern colonies, each of which would be exposed to them in its most tender and defenceless part. Whilst the possession of Hudson's river would establish and secure their communication with General Howe, it would equally sever and disconnect the southern and northern provinces, leaving thereby the latter to sink under the joint weight of both armies, or to accept of such terms as they could obtain, without the participation of the others. Nor could General Washington attempt to hold any post in New York or the Jerseys, with such a superiority of force as already oppressed him in front, and General Carleton's army at his back. The successes of their fellows on the side of New York, increased the impatience, and excited the jealousy of his army, every one apprehending that the war would be brought to an end, before he could have an opportunity of sharing in the honour of that happy event.

State of  
the Bri-  
tish force  
on Lake  
Champ-  
lain.

While all this ardour, and the most unremitting industry, it was not until the month of October, that the fleet was in a condition to seek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The force was very considerable with respect to the place and service, extraordinary in regard to the little time spent in its formation, and such as, a very few ages ago, would have been deemed formidable even upon the European seas. The ship *Inflexible*, which may be considered as Admiral, had been re-constructed at St. John's, from whence she sailed in 28 days after laying her keel,  
and



and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One schooner mounted 14, and another 12, six pounders. A flat bottomed radeau carried six 24, and six 12 pounders, besides howitzers; and a gondola, 7 nine pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried brass field pieces from 9 to 24 pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Some long boats were furnished in the same manner. About an equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Those we have taken notice of, were all intended for, or appertaining to battle; we omit the vast number destined for the transportation of the army, with its stores, artillery, baggage and provisions.

The armament was conducted by Captain Pringle, and the fleet navigated by above 700 prime seamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the transports, who after having rivaled those belonging to the ships of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The guns were served by detachments of men and officers belonging to the corps of artillery. In a word, no equipment of the sort was ever better appointed, or more amply furnished with every kind of provision necessary for the intended service.

The enemy's force was in no degree equal, either with respect to the goodness of the vessels, the number of guns, furniture of war, or weight of metal. Sensible, though they were, of the necessity of preserving the dominion of the Lakes, and aided in that design by the original force in their hands, with a great advantage in point of time for its increase, their intentions in that respect were counteracted by many essential, and some irremediable deficiencies. They wanted timber, artillery, ship-builders, and all the materials necessary for such an equipment. Carpenters, and all others concerned in the business of

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1776.



State of  
the Ame-  
rican  
force.

shipping, were fully engaged at the sea ports in the construction and fitting out of privateers, whilst the the remoteness, and difficulty of communication, rendered the supply of bulky materials extremely tedious. When we consider the difficulties on their part, we think it not just to deny the Americans the praise, of having combated, and in part overcome them, with an assiduity, perseverance, and spirit, which did not in the least fall short of what had been employed against them. For their fleet amounted to 15 vessels of different kinds, consisting of two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three galleys, and eight gondolas. The principal schooner mounted 12 six and four pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to support upon a new element, that renown which he had acquired on land in the Canada expedition.

Engage-  
ment  
near the  
isle Vali-  
cour.

General Carleton was too full of zeal, and too anxious for the event, not to head the British armament, and having proceeded up the Lake, discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up with great judgement, being very advantageously posted, and forming a strong line, to defend the passage between the island of Valicour and the western main. Indeed they had at the beginning placed themselves with so much skill behind the island, that an accident only discovered their position. The King's squadron, without this seasonable discovery, would have left them behind; an event, which if it had happened, might have been attended with the most serious consequences. It is said, that the unexpected sight of a three masted ship of such force, upon the Lake, threw the enemy into the utmost, and most visible consternation. It does not seem, however, probable, that a matter of such public notoriety in Canada should have been so long withheld from them.

A warm action ensued, and was vigourously supported on both sides for some hours; but the wind  
being

being unfavourable, so that the ship *Inflexible*, and some other vessels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, the weight of the action fell upon the schooner *Carleton* and the gun-boats, which they sustained with the greatest firmness, such extraordinary efforts of resolution being displayed both by men and officers, as merited and received the highest applause from their commanders. It is to be presumed, that when so much praise was due and given to the conduct and valour of a superior force on our side, the enemy must not have acted their part amiss.

1776.  
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The detachment belonging to the corps of artillery, were highly distinguished, and did most essential service in the gun-boats. But the same impediments still continuing, which prevented their being seconded by the other vessels, Captain *Pringle*, with the approbation of the General, thought it necessary for the present, to withdraw those that were engaged from the action. At the approach of night, he brought the whole fleet to anchor in a line, and as near as possible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat.

In this engagement the best schooner belonging to the enemy was burnt, and a gondola carrying three or four guns sunk, from whence we may form some reasonable conjecture of the execution done upon their other vessels. Being now fully sensible of their inferiority, they took the opportunity which the darkness of the night afforded, of endeavouring to escape from their present imminent danger, hoping to obtain shelter and protection at *Crown Point*. Arnold concerted and executed this design with ability, and fortune seemed at first so favourable to his purpose, that they were out of sight by the next morning. The chase being, however, continued without intermission both on that, and the succeeding day, the wind, and other

Arnold
retires ;
pursuit ;
overtaken

cir-

1776.  circumstances peculiar to the navigation of the Lake, which had been at first in favour of the Americans, became at length otherwise, so that they were overtaken and brought to action a few leagues short of Crown Point, about noon on the 13th.

A very warm engagement ensued, and continued about two hours, during which those vessels that were most a-head, pushed on with the utmost speed, and passing Crown Point, escaped to Ticonderoga; but two gallies and five gondolas which remained with Arnold made a desperate resistance. During this action, the Washington galley, with Waterburg, a Brigadier General, and the second in command, on board, struck, and was taken. Arnold, at length, finding it was impossible to withstand the superiority of force, skill, and weight of metal, with which he was overborne, and finding himself but ill seconded by the Captains of some of his vessels, determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor the vessels a prey to the enemy. He executed this design with equal resolution and dexterity, and ran the Congress galley, in which himself was, with the five gondolas in such a manner, as to land his men safely and blow up the vessels, in spite of every effort that was used to prevent both.

Burns his
vessels

Loss and defeat were so far from producing their usual effect with respect to Arnold, that his conduct in this command raised his character still higher than it was before with his countrymen. They said that he had not only acted the part of a brave soldier, but that he also amply filled that of an able naval commander. That the most experienced seamen could not have found a greater variety of resources, by the dexterity of manœuvre, evolution, and the most advantageous choice of situation, to compensate for the want of force, than he did; that when his vessels were torn almost to pieces, he re-
treated

treated with the same resolution that he fought, and by the happiest and most critical judgement, prevented his people and them from falling into the hands of the enemy. But they chiefly gloried in the dangerous attention he paid to a nice point of honour, in keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till she was in flames, lest the enemy should have boarded and struck it. 1776.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly destroyed, a galley, and three small vessels being all that escaped to Ticonderoga. The enemy, upon the rout of their fleet, having set fire to the houses, and destroyed every thing which they could not carry off, at Crown Point, evacuated that place, and retired to their main body at Ticonderoga. Gen. Carleton took possession of the ruins, where he was soon joined by the army. As he continued there till towards the end of the month, and, besides several reconnoitring parties, pushed on at one time strong detachments on both sides of the Lake, who approached within a small distance of Ticonderoga, at the same time that vessels appeared within cannon shot of the works, to examine the nature of the channel, and found its depth, little doubt can be entertained that he had it in contemplation to attempt that place. The strength of the works, the difficulty of approach, the countenance of the enemy, and the ignorance of their number, with other cogent reasons, prevented this design from taking place.

Crown Point a bandoned and destroyed

G. Carleton lands there with the army.

It was evident that this post could not be forced in its present state, without a very considerable loss of blood, whilst the benefit arising from success would be comparatively nothing. The season was now too far advanced to think of passing Lake George, and of exposing the army to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhospitable, and impracticable wilds to the southward. As Ticonderoga could

Motives for not attacking Ticonderoga.

1776. could not be kept during the winter, the most that could be expected from success, would be the reduction of works, more indebted to nature than art for their strength, and perhaps the taking of some cannon; whilst the former would be restored, and the latter replaced by the enemy, before the army could interrupt their proceedings in the ensuing summer. But if the defence should be obstinate, although the army were in the end successful, it would probably thereby be so much weakened, that all prospect of advantage in the future campaign would, in a great measure, be annihilated. The difficulty, perhaps impossibility, of keeping open the communication with Canada, and subsisting the army during the winter was obvious. General Carleton therefore reembarked the army without making any attempt, and returning to Canada, cantoned them for the winter in the best manner the country afforded.

G. Carleton returns with the army.

Situation of affairs to the southward.

It is fit that we should now turn our attention to the important transactions in the South. We saw towards the conclusion of the last campaign, that Lord Cornwallis had not only overrun the Jerseys, but that the Delaware was the only apparent obstacle, which seemed capable of retarding the progress of his army, in the reduction of Philadelphia and the adjoining provinces. The American army was indeed no more. It is said that the greatest number which remained embodied did not exceed 2500 or 3000 men. This was all that remained of an army, which at the opening of the campaign amounted, as it is said, to at least twenty-five thousand. There are some who represent it as having been at that time much stronger. The term of their engagement being expired, which, along with the obligation of duty, discharged all apprehension of disgrace, there was no keeping together, at the heel of a ruinous campaign, troops broken and dispirited, equally unaccustomed to subordination, and to a long absence from their countries and families. Those

Those small bodies, who from personal attachment, 1776. local circumstances, or a superior perseverance and bravery, still continued with the Generals Washington and Lee, were too inconsiderable in force, to demand much attention on the one side, or to inspire confidence on the other: whilst the support to be derived from new levies, not yet formed, was too remote and precarious, to afford much present consolation to the Americans.

In this critical situation of their affairs, the capture of Gen. Lee seemed to render them still more hopeless. That officer, at the head of all the men which he could collect or keep together, being on his march to join General Washington, who had assembled the Pennsylvania militia to secure the banks of the Delaware, was, from the distance of the British cantonments, betrayed into a fatal security, by which, in crossing the upper part of New Jersey from the North river, he fixed his quarters, and lay carelessly guarded, at some distance from the main body. The operation of zeal, or desire of reward in an inhabitant, having communicated this situation to Col. Harcourt, who commanded the light horse, and had then made a desultory excursion at the head of a small detachment to observe the motions of that body, he conducted his measures with such address and activity, and they were so well seconded by the boldness and rapidity of motion which distinguish that corps, that the guard was evaded, the centries seized without noise, the quarters forced, and Lee carried off, though all that part of the country was in his favour, and that several guarded posts, and armed patrols, lay in the way.

Gen. Lee
taken.

The making of a single officer prisoner, in other circumstances would have been a matter of little moment; but in the present state of the raw American forces, where a general deficiency of military skill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers

was

1776.

was even a greater grievance than the lack of discipline in the foldiers, the loss of a commander, whose spirit of enterprize was directed by great knowledge in his profession acquired by actual service, was of the utmost importance, and the more distressing, as there was little room to hope it could be soon supplied.

The rejoicing in Great Britain on this occasion was equal at least to the dejection of the Americans. It was conjectured, that some personal animosities between this General and several officers in the army, as well as persons of power at court, contributed not a little to the triumph and exultation of that time.

The capture of Gen. Lee was also attended with a circumstance, which has since been productive of much inconvenience to both sides, and of much calamity to individuals. A cartel, or something of that nature, had some time before been established for the exchange of prisoners between the Generals Howe and Washington, which had hitherto been carried into execution, so far as time and other circumstances would admit. As Lee was particularly obnoxious to government, it was said, and is supposed, that Gen. Howe was tied down by his instructions from parting with him upon any terms, if the fortune of war should throw him into his power. Gen. Washington not having at this time any prisoner of equal rank with Lee, proposed to exchange six field officers for him, the number being intended to balance that disparity; or if this was not accepted, he required that he should be treated and considered suitably to his station, according to the practice established among polished nations, and the precedent already set by the Americans in regard to the British officers in their hands, until an opportunity offered for a direct and equal exchange.

To

To this it was answered, that as Mr. Lee was a deserter from his Majesty's service, he was not to be considered as a prisoner of war, that he did not at all come within the conditions of the cartel, nor could he receive any of its benefits. This brought on a fruitless discussion, whether Gen. Lee, who had resigned his half pay at the beginning of the troubles, could be considered as a deserter, or whether he could with justice be excluded from the general benefits of a cartel, in which no particular exception of persons had been made; the affirmative in both these positions being treated by Washington with the utmost indignation.

In the mean time Lee was confined in the closest manner, being watched and guarded with all that strictness and jealousy, which a state criminal of the first magnitude could have experienced in the most dangerous political conjuncture. This conduct not only suspended the operation of the cartel, but induced retaliation on the other side, and Colonel Campbell, who had hitherto enjoyed every degree of liberty consistent with his condition, and had been treated with great humanity by the people of Boston, was now thrown into a dungeon, and treated with a rigour equal to the indulgence he had before experienced. Those officers who were prisoners, in the southern colonies, though not treated with equal rigour, were, however, abridged of their parole liberty, and deprived of other comforts and satisfactions, which had hitherto rendered their condition uncommonly easy. It was at the same time declared, that their future treatment should in every degree be regulated by that which Gen. Lee experienced, and that their persons should be answerable, in the utmost extent, for any violence that was offered to him.

This was not the only instance in which the Congress manifested a firm and undaunted resolution.

B b b

Perseverance of the Congress.
In gress.

1776.

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In the midst of the dangers with which they were environed, far from giving way to any thing like unconditional submission, they made no overtures towards any kind of accommodation. On the other side none were made to them. They prepared to renew the war, and to repair their shattered forces with all diligence. They were now convinced of the inefficacy of temporary armies, engaged only for a short time, and calculated merely to repel a sudden invasion, when opposed to the constant war of a powerful enemy, and the incessant efforts of regular forces. It could never be hoped, with new men thus changed every year, to make any effectual stand against veteran troops, and their present critical situation afforded too alarming an experience, of the fatal consequences which might attend that period of utter imbecility, between the extinction of the old army, and the establishment of the new. To guard against this evil in future, which could not be remedied for the present, they issued orders about the middle of September, for the levying of 88 battalions, the soldiers being bound by the terms of enlistment to serve during the continuance of the war.

Measures
for re-
newing
the army.

The number of battalions which each colony was by this ordinance appointed to raise and support, may be considered as a pretty exact political scale of their comparative strength, framed by those who were interested in its correctness, and well acquainted with their respective circumstances. Massachusetts's Bay and Virginia were the highest on this scale, being to furnish 15 battalions each; Pennsylvania came next, and was rated at twelve; North Carolina 9, Connecticut and Maryland 8 each; New York, and the Jerseys, the latter considered as one government, were, in consequence of their present situation, set no higher than 4 battalions each.

The

The liberty of the Congress in its encouragement to the troops, was proportioned to the necessity of speedily completing the new army. Besides the bounty of twenty dollars to each soldier at the time of enlisting, lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the survivors, and to the representatives of all who were slain in action, in different stated proportions, from 500 acres, the allotment of a Colonel, to 150, which was that of an Ensign; the private men, and non-commissioned officers, were to have 100 acres each. As a bar to the thoughtlessness and prodigality incident to soldiers, and to prevent the most worthless and undeserving from obtaining for trifles, those rewards due to the brave for their blood and services, all these lands were rendered unalienable during the war, no assignment or transfer being to be admitted at its conclusion.

1776.

Lands allotted for serving during the war.

The Congress had before, as an encouragement to their forces by sea and land, decreed that all officers, soldiers, and seamen, who were or might be disabled in action, should receive during life, one half of the monthly pay to which they were entitled by their rank in the service, at the time of meeting with the misfortune. Notwithstanding these encouragements, it seems, as if the condition of serving during the indefinite term of the continuance of the war, was not generally agreeable, to a people so little accustomed to any kind of subordination, or restraint; so that in the month of November, the Congress found it necessary to admit of another mode of enlistment for the term of three years, the soldiers under this compact receiving the same bounty in money with the others, but being cut out from any allotment of lands.

With all these encouragements by the Congress, the business of recruiting went on, however but heavily; and it must not be imagined, that the
army

1776.  army actually raised, did at any time bear any proportion in effective men to that which was voted.

The holding out a promise of lands as an inducement to fill up their armies, was probably intended to counteract the effect of a similar measure which had some time before been adopted on the side of the crown, large grants of *vacant* lands, to be distributed at the close of the troubles having been promised in its name to the Highland emigrants, and some other new troops raised in America, as a reward for their expected zeal and loyalty in the reduction of the rebellious colonies. A measure that tended more to increase and excite the animosity of the people, than any other perhaps which could have been proposed in the present circumstances. For they universally considered the term *vacant*, as signifying *forfeited*, which being an effect of the treason laws yet unknown in America, excited the greater horror; the people being well aware from the experience of other countries, that if the sweets of forfeiture were once tasted, it would be equally happy and unusual, if any other limits than those which nature had assigned to their possessions, could restrain its operation.

Money
borrow'd

The annual supplies raised in different colonies by their respective assemblies, being insufficient to provide for the extraordinary expences of so large an army, together with the other numerous contingencies, inseparable from such a war, the Congress found it necessary to negotiate a loan to answer these purposes. They accordingly passed a resolution to borrow five millions of dollars at the interest of four per cent. the faith of the united states being pledged to the lenders for the payment both of principal and interest.

As the situation of affairs became extremely critical, and the preservation of Philadelphia to all appearance

pearance hopeless, at the time that Lord Cornwallis had overrun the Jerseys, and that the British forces had taken possession of the towns and posts on the Delaware, the Congress published an address to the people in general, but more particularly those of Pennsylvania and the adjacent states. The general objects of this piece, were to awaken the attention of the people, remove their despondency, renew their hopes and spirits, and confirm their attentions of supporting the war, by shewing that no other means were left for the preservation of those rights and liberties for which they originally contended. But it was particularly and immediately intended to forward the completion of the new army, and to call out the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, to the defence of Philadelphia.

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Dec. 10.

Address
to the
people.

For these purposes they enumerated the causes of the troubles, the supposed grievances they had endured, the late oppressive laws which had been passed against them, dwelt much upon the contempt with which all their petitions and applications for redress had been treated; and to shew that no alternative but war, or a tame resignation of all that could be dear to mankind remained, they asserted, that even the boasted Commissioners for giving peace to America had not offered, nor did yet offer, any terms but pardon on absolute submission. From this detail and these premises they deduced the necessity of the act of Independency, asserting, that it would have been impossible for them to have defended their rights against so powerful an aggressor, aided by large armies of foreign mercenaries, or to have obtained that assistance from other states which was absolutely necessary to their preservation, whilst they acknowledged the sovereignty, and confessed themselves the subjects of that power, against which they had taken up arms, and were engaged in so cruel a war.

They

1776.

They boasted of the success that had in general attended their cause and exertions, contending that the present state of weakness and danger, did not proceed from any capital loss, defeat, or from any defect of valour in their troops, but merely from the expiration of the term of those short enlistments, which had in the beginning been adopted from an attention to the ease of the people. They assured them, that foreign states had already rendered them essential services, and had given them the most positive assurances of further aid. And they excited the indignation and animosity of the people, by expatiating upon the unrelenting, cruel, and inhuman manner, in which, they said, the war was carried on, not only by the auxiliaries, but even by the British forces themselves.

Complaints of this kind held a distinguished place in all the American publications of that time. Some of them indeed contained nothing else, but details of rapes, rapine, cruelty and murder. Though these accounts were undoubtedly highly exaggerated, it is, however, to be apprehended, that too much room was afforded for complaints of that nature. The odium began with the Hessians, and has since stuck closely to them, though the British troops were far from escaping a share of the imputation. The former, naturally fierce and cruel, ignorant of any rights but those of despotism, and of any manners, but those established within the narrow precinct of their own government, were incapable of forming any distinction between ravaging and destroying an enemy's country, where no present benefit was intended but plunder, nor any future advantage expected but that of weakening the foe, and the reducing of a malcontent people (who though in a state of rebellion, were still to be reclaimed, not destroyed) to a due sense of obedience to their lawful sovereign.

It

It has been said, that in order to reconcile them to so new and strange an adventure, some idea had been held out to them in Germany, that they should obtain large portions of the lands which they were to conquer in America, and that this notion, however absurd, made them at first consider the antient possessors as their natural enemies; but that when they found their error, they considered the moveable plunder of the country, not only as a matter of right, but an inadequate recompense for undertaking such a voyage, and engaging in such a war.

1776.

Military rapine may be easily accounted for without any recourse to such a deception. It had been observed from the beginning, that the most mortal antipathy subsisted between the Americans and Hessians. The former, contending themselves for freedom, and filled with the highest notions of the natural rights of mankind, regarded with equal contempt and abhorrence, a people whom they considered as the most sordid of all mercenary slaves, in thus resigning all their faculties to the will of a petty despot, and becoming the ready instruments of a cruel tyranny. They reproached them with the highest possible degree of moral turpitude, in thus engaging in a domestic quarrel, in which they had neither interest nor concern, and quitting their homes in the old world to butcher a people in the new, from whom they never had received the smallest injury; but who, on the contrary, had for a century past afforded an hospitable asylum to their harassed and oppressed countrymen, who had fled in multitudes to escape from a tyranny, similar to that under which they were now acting, and to enjoy the blessings of a liberty most generously held out to them, of which these mercenaries would impiously bereave the German as well as English Americans.

Such

1776.

Such sentiments, and such reproaches, did not fail to increase their natural ferocity and rapaciousness; and it is said that they continued in a course of plunder, until they at length became so encumbered and loaded with spoil, and so anxious for its preservation, that it grew to be a great impediment to their military operations.

However disagreeable this conduct was, and contrary to the nature of the British commanders, it was an evil not easily to be remedied. They could not venture to hazard the success of the war, in so distant a situation, and such precarious and critical circumstances, by quarrelling with auxiliaries, who were nearly as numerous and powerful as their own forces. Allowances were necessarily to be made for a difference of manners, opinions, and even ideas of military rules and service. Without opening any general ground of dislike or quarrel, it required all the constancy, and all that admirable equanimity of temper which distinguish General Howe's character, to restrain the operation of those piques, jealousies, and animosities, the effect of national pride, emulation, and a difference of manners, which no wisdom could prevent from springing up in the two armies.

It was scarcely possible that the devastation and disorders practised by the Hessians, should not operate in some degree in their example upon the British troops. It would have been difficult to have punished enormities on the one side, which were practised without reserve or apprehension on the other. Every successful deviation from order and discipline in war, is certainly and speedily followed by others still greater. No relaxation can take place in either without the most ruinous consequences. The soldier, who at first shrinks at trifling excesses, will in a little time, if they pass without question, proceed, without hesitation, to the greatest enormities.

From

From hence sprung the clamour raised in America of the desolation which was spread through the Jerseys, and which by taking in friends and moderate men, as well as enemies, did great injury to the royal cause, uniting the latter more firmly, and urging to activity, or detaching, many of the former. Nor could the effect be confined to the immediate sufferers; the exaggerated details which were published of these enormities, serving to embitter the minds of men exceedingly through all the colonies. These accounts being also transmitted to Europe, seemed in some degree to affect our national character; in France particularly, where the people in general, through the whole course of this contest, have been strongly American, they were readily received and willingly credited. Among other enormities which received the censure of our neighbours in that country, the destruction of the public library at Trenton, and of the college and library at Princetown, together with a celebrated orrery made by Rittenhouse, said to be the best and finest in the world, were brought as charges of a Gothic barbarity, which waged war even with literature and the sciences.

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In about a month after the taking of New-York, the inhabitants of that city and island, presented a petition to Lord and General Howe, the commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, signed by Daniel Horsmanden, Oliver de Lancy, and 946 others, declaring their allegiance, and their acknowledgment, of the *Constitutional Supremacy* of Great Britain over the colonies; and praying that in pursuance of the former declarations issued by the commissioners, that city and county might be restored to his Majesty's peace and protection.

Petitions
from the
inhabi-
tants of
New
York,
&c. to
the com-
missioners

This petition to the commissioners was followed by another to the same purpose, from the freeholders and inhabitants of Queen's county in Long-island.

Critical
state of
Philadel-
phia.
It

1776. It was observed of these petitions, that the acknowledgement of the Constitutional supremacy in one, and of the constitutional authority of Great Britain in the other, were very guardedly expressed, all mention of parliament being omitted, and the great question of unconditional submission left totally at large. It is also remarkable, that though the inhabitants of York Island and Queen's County, besides raising a considerable body of troops for the King's service, and establishing a strong militia for the common defence, had given every other testimony of their loyalty, which could be expected or wished, yet these petitions were not attended to, nor were they restored to those rights which they expected in consequence of the declarations, as well as of the late law for the appointment of Commissioners.

The critical situation of Philadelphia, which a night or two's frost would have laid open to the British forces, obliged the Congress, about the close of the year, to consult their own safety by retiring to Baltimore, in Maryland. In this state of external danger, the dissensions which sprung up among themselves were not less alarming to the Americans. We have formerly shewn that the Declaration of Independency had met with a strong opposition in Philadelphia, not only from those who were called, or considered as Tories, but from many, who in all other matters had been among the most forward in opposing the claims of the crown and parliament. The carrying of the question by a great majority throughout the province, was far from lessening the bitterness of those who opposed it, amongst whom were most of the Quakers, a great and powerful body in that colony; so that the discontented in this business, forgetting in the present their ancient animosity, with all its operating causes, coalesced with the Tories or loyalists, whom they had formerly persecuted, and considered as betrayers, and in-
terate

terate enemies of their country, thus composing all together a very formidable party.

1776.

Divisions
in Pen-
sylvania.

In consequence of this dissention, and of the ill success of the rebellious arms during the greater part of the campaign, which disposed many to look to their safety, a Mr. Galloway, the family of Allens, with other leading men, either in Pennsylvania or the Jerseys, some of whom had been members of Congress, fled to the Commissioners at New-York, to claim the benefits of the general pardon which had been offered; expecting as matters then stood, to return speedily home in triumph. These were, however, much less troublesome and dangerous to the Americans, than those who kept their ground, who were so numerous and powerful, that upon the approach of the British forces to the Delaware, they prevented the order for fortifying the city of Philadelphia from being carried into execution. This eccentric and alarming movement in the seat of life and action, obliged General Washington weak as he was, to detach three regiments, under the command of Lord Sterling, effectually to quell the opposition of that party, and to give efficacy to the measure of fortifying the city. This decisive conduct answered all its purposes, except that of fortifying the city, a design which seems to have been abandoned as not practicable, or not necessary at that time.

As the season grew too severe to keep the field, and the frosts were not yet sufficiently set in for the passage of the Delaware, it became necessary towards the middle of December to put the British and auxiliary forces under cover. They were accordingly thrown into great cantonments, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick, on the Rariton to the Delaware, occupying not only the towns, posts, and villages, which came within a liberal description of that line, but those also on the banks
of

1776.

of the Delaware for several miles, so that the latter composed a front at the end of the line, which looked over to Pennsylvania.

Things were now in such a situation, that there seemed to be as little probability of interrupting the designs, or endangering the security on the one side, as of renewing the spirit, or retrieving the weakness, on the other. In this state of affairs, a bold and spirited enterprize, which shewed more of brilliancy than real effect in its first appearance, became capable in its consequences of changing in a great measure the worst fortune of the war. Such extraordinary effects do small events produce, in that last and most uncertain of human decisions.

Surprize
at Tren-
ton.

Colonel Rall a brave and experienced officer, was stationed with a brigade of Hessians, consisting of three battalions, with a few British light horse, and 50 chassieurs, amounting in the whole to 14 or 1500 men, at Trenton, upon the Delaware, being the highest post which the royal army occupied upon that river. Colonel Donop, with another brigade, lay at Bordentown, a few miles lower down the river; and at Burlington still lower, and within twenty miles of Philadelphia a third body was posted. The corps at Trenton, as well as the others, partly from the knowledge they had of the weakness of the enemy, and partly from the contempt in which they held him, considered themselves in as perfect a state of security, as if they had been upon garrison duty in their own country, in a time of the profoundest peace. It is said, and seems probable, that this supposed security, increased that licence and laxity of discipline, of which we have before taken notice, and produced an inattention to the possibility of a surprize, which no success or situation can justify in the vicinity of an enemy, however weak or contemptible.

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These circumstances, if they really existed, seem not to have escaped the vigilance of General Washington. But, exclusive of these, he fully saw and comprehended the danger to which Philadelphia and the whole province would be inevitably exposed, as soon as the Delaware was thoroughly covered with ice, if the enemy, by retaining possession of the opposite shore, were at hand to profit of that circumstance, whilst he was utterly incapable of opposing them in the field.

1776.


To ward off this danger, he with equal boldness and ability formed a design to prevent the enemy, by beating up their quarters; intending to remedy the deficiency of force by the manner of applying it; by bringing it nearly to a point; and by attacking unexpectedly and separately those bodies which he could not venture to encounter if united. If the design succeeded only in part, it might, however, induce the enemy to contract their cantonments, and to quit the vicinity of the river, when they found it was not a sufficient barrier to cover their quarters from insult and danger; thus obtaining that security for Philadelphia, which, at present, was the principal object of his attention.

For this purpose, General Washington took the necessary measures for assembling his forces (which consisted mostly of drafts from the militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia) in three divisions, each of which was to arrive at its appointed station on the Delaware, as soon after dark, and with as little noise as possible, on the night of Christmas-day. Two of these divisions were under the command of the Generals Erwing and Cadwallader, the first of which was to pass the river at Trenton Ferry, about a mile below the town, and the other still lower towards Bordentown. The principal body was commanded by Mr. Washington in person, assisted by the Generals Sullivan and Green, and consisted of
about

1776. about 2500 men, provided with a train of 20 small
 brass field pieces.

With this body he arrived at M'Kenky's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton, at the time appointed, hoping to be able to pass the division and artillery over by midnight, and that it would then be no difficulty to reach that place long before day light, and effectually to surprize Rall's brigade. The river was, however, so incumbered with ice, that it was with great difficulty the boats could make their way through, which with the extreme severity of the weather, retarded their passage so much, that it was near four o'clock before it was compleated. They were still equally delayed and incommoded in the march by a violent storm of snow and hail, which rendered the way so slippery, that it was with difficulty they reached the place of destination by eight o'clock.

Col. Rall
 mortally
 wounded

The detachment had been formed in two divisions immediately upon passing the river, one of which, turning to the right, took the lower road to Trenton, whilst the other, with General Washington, proceeded along the upper, or Pennington road. Notwithstanding the delays they met, and the advanced state of daylight, the Hessians had no knowledge of their approach, until an advanced post, at some distance from the town, was attacked by the upper division, the lower, about the same time, driving in the outguards on their side. The regiment of Rall, having been detached to support the picket which was first attacked, was thrown into disorder by the retreat of that party, and obliged to rejoin the main body. Colonel Rall now bravely charged the enemy, but being soon mortally wounded, the troops were thrown into disorder after a short engagement, and driven from their artillery, which consisted only of six battalion brass field pieces. Thus overpowered, and nearly surrounded, after an in-

ineffectual attempt to retreat to Princetown, the three regiments of Rall, Lofsberg, and Knyphausen, found themselves under the unfortunate necessity of surrendering prisoners of war.

1776.

Three
regi-
ments
surrender
them-
selves
prisoners.

As the road along the river side to Bordentown led from that part of Trenton most remote from the enemy, the light-horse, chasseurs, a considerable number of the private men, with some few officers, made their escape that way. It is also said, that a number of the Hessians who had been out marauding in the country, and accordingly absent from their duty that morning, found the same refuge, whilst their crime was covered under the common misfortune.

The loss of the Hessians in killed and wounded was very inconsiderable, not exceeding 30 or 40 at the most; that on the other side was too trifling to be mentioned; the whole number of prisoners amounted to 918. Thus was one part of General Washington's project crowned with success; but the two others failed in the execution, the quantity of ice being so great, that the divisions under Erwing and Cadwallader, found the river, where they directed their attempts, impassable. If this had not been the case, and that the first, in pursuance of his instructions, had been able to have possessed the bridge over Trenton Creek, not one of those who made their way to Bordentown could have escaped. But if the design had taken effect in all its parts, and the three divisions had joined after the affair at Trenton, it seems probable that they would have swept all the posts on the river before them.

As things were, General Washington could not proceed any further in the prosecution of his design. The force he had with him was far from being able even to maintain its ground at Trenton, there being a strong body of light infantry within a few miles
at

1776.



at Princetown, which by the junction of Donop's brigade, or other bodies from the cantonments, would have soon overwhelmed his little army. He accordingly repassed the Delaware the same evening, carrying with him the prisoners, who with their artillery and colours, afforded a day of new and joyful triumph at Philadelphia.

Great effects of the surprize at Trenton on the Americans in general.

This small success wonderfully raised the spirits of the Americans. It is an odd, but a general disposition of mankind, to be much more afraid of those whom they do not know, than of those with whom they are acquainted. Difference of dress, of arms (though less useful), of complexion, beard, colour of the hair or eyes, with the general manner, air, and countenance, have at different times had surprizing effects upon brave, disciplined, and experienced armies. The Hessians had hitherto been very terrible to the Americans; and the taking of a whole brigade of them prisoners, seemed so incredible, that at the very time they were marching into Philadelphia, people were contending in different parts of the town, that the whole story was a fiction, and indeed that it could not be true. The charm was now, however, dissolved, and the Hessians were no longer terrible. In the mean time General Washington was reinforced by several regiments from Virginia and Maryland, as well as with several new bodies of the Pennsylvania militia, who, with those of that province already under his command, were much distinguished in the hard service of the ensuing winter campaign.

Reasonings and conjectures thereon.

The surprize at Trenton did not excite less amazement in the British and auxiliary quarters, than it did joy in those of the Americans. Blame was loosely scattered every where. That three old established regiments, of a people who make war their profession, should lay down their arms to a ragged and undisciplined militia, and that with scarcely any
loss

loss on either side, seemed an event of so extraordinary a nature, that it gave full scope to the operation of conjecture, suspicion, censure, and malignity, as different tempers were differently affected.

1776.

The General was blamed for laying so extensive a chain of cantonments,* Rall was condemned for marching out of the town to meet the enemy, and the character of the Hessians, in general, did not rise in the opinion of their allies.

As to the first, the General had foreseen the objection, but he depended upon the weakness of the enemy, the good disposition of the inhabitants, the considerable force which was stationed in the advanced posts, and was besides influenced by a desire to cover and protect the county of Monmouth, where a great number of the people were well affected to the royal cause. It may be added, that perhaps no line of cantonment or post can be contrived so compact and secure, as not to admit the possibility of an impression in some one part, by a force much inferior to the aggregate power of the defensive.

With respect to Colonel Rall, if the charge against him was well founded, his misconduct sprung from an error, which was generally prevalent among the officers and men both of the British and Hessian forces. The fact is, that from the successes of the preceding campaign, and the vast superiority which they perceived in themselves in every action, they had held the Americans in too great contempt both as men and as soldiers, and were too apt to

D d d

attribute

* As the conduct of Lord and General Howe, during their command in America, became the subject of a parliamentary enquiry in the session of 1779. We have given in the Appendix, the evidence, at large of the principal officers under their command, as delivered before a committee of the House of Commons, which we presume will prove acceptable to our readers, as it will throw great light on many transactions, which before were not fully explained.

1776. attribute those advantages to some extraordinary personal virtue and excellence, which were in reality derived from the concurrence of a number of other, and very different causes; from military skill, experience and discipline; from the superior excellence of their small arms, artillery, and of all other engines, furniture, and supplies, necessary for war; and still more particularly, to a better supply, and a more dexterous and effective use of bayonets; which gave them a great superiority over the Americans, who were poorly furnished with this kind of arms, and were by no means expert in the use of them.

Lord
Corn-
wallis
returns
to the
Jerseys.

The alarm now spread, induced the British and auxiliary troops immediately to assemble, and General Grant, with the forces at Brunswick and that quarter, to advance speedily to Princetown; whilst Lord Cornwallis, who had gone to New York in his way to England, found it necessary to delay his voyage, and return post to the defence of the Jerseys. They were not now without an enemy to encounter, for General Washington, encouraged by the reinforcements he had received, had again passed the Delaware, and was with his whole force at Trenton.

Jan. 2,
1777.

Lord Cornwallis marched immediately to attack the enemy, whom he found in a strong position, formed at the back of Trenton Creek, being in possession of the bridge, and other passages, which were well covered with artillery. After several skirmishes in the approach, a cannonade ensued on both sides, which continued until night. A brigade of the British troops lay that night at Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton, and another upon its march from Brunswick, consisting of the 17th, the 40th, and 55th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood, were at Princetown, about the same distance beyond Maidenhead.

In

In this situation on both sides, General Washington, who was far from intending to risque a battle, having taken the necessary precaution of keeping up the fires, and every other appearance of still occupying his camp, and leaving small parties to go the rounds, and guard the bridge and the fords, withdrew the rest of his forces in the dead of night, and with the most profound silence. They marched with such expedition towards Princetown, that though they took a large circuit by Allentown, partly to get clear of the Trenton, or Assumpink Creek, and partly to avoid the brigade which lay at Maidenhead, their van fell in at sunrise the next morning with Colonel Mawhood, who had just begun his march. That officer not having the smallest idea of their forces, the fogginess of the morning, or circumstances of the ground, preventing him from seeing its extent, considered it only as the attempt of some flying party to interrupt his march, and having easily dispersed those by whom he was first attacked, pushed forward without further apprehension. But in a little time, he not only found that the 17th regiment which he led was attacked on all sides by a superior force, but that it was also separated and cut off from the rest of the brigade, whilst he discovered, by the continued distant firing, that the 55th, which immediately followed, was not in better circumstances.

1777.

General Washington quits his camp, and attacks Colonel Mawhood, near Princetown.

In this trying and dangerous situation, the brave commander, and his equally brave regiment, gained immortal honour. After a violent conflict, and the greatest repeated exertions of courage and discipline, they at length, by dint of bayonet, forced their way through the thickest ranks of the enemy, and pursued their march to Maidenhead undisturbed. The 55th regiment was little less pressed, and finding it impossible to continue its march, with great resolution made good its retreat, and returned by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick. The 40th regi-

1777. regiment, which was still at Princetown when the action began, suffered less than the others, and retired by another road to the same place. The enemy acknowledged that nothing could exceed the gallant behaviour of the corps under Mawhood.

Though the number killed, considering the nature and warmth of the engagements, was not so considerable as might have been expected; yet, upon the whole, the three regiments suffered severely; their loss in prisoners, amounting to about 200; the killed and wounded were much fewer. The Americans had many more killed, among whom were some brave officers, particularly General Mercer belonging to Virginia, who was much esteemed and lamented.

It cannot escape the observation of any person who has attended to the circumstances of this war, that the number slain on the side of the Americans, has in general greatly exceeded that in the royal army. Though every defect in military skill, experience, judgment, conduct, and mechanical habit, will in some degree account for this circumstance, yet perhaps it may be more particularly attributed to the imperfect loading of their pieces in the hurry of action, than to any other cause; a defect, of all others, the most fatal; the most difficult to be remedied in a new army; and to which even veterans are not sufficiently attentive. To this may be also added the various make of their small arms, which being procured as chance or opportunity favoured them, from remote and different quarters, were equally different in size and bore, which rendered their being fitted with ball upon any general scale impracticable.

This active and unexpected movement, with its spirited consequences, immediately recalled Lord Cornwallis from the Delaware; who was, not without

out reason, alarmed for the safety of the troops and magazines at Brunswick. The Americans still avoiding a general action, and satisfied with their present advantages, crossed the Millstone river, without any further attempt. In a few days, however, they overrun East Jersey as well as the West, spreading themselves over the Rariton, even into Essex county, where, by seizing Newark, Elizabeth Town, and Woodbridge, they became masters of the coast opposite to Staten Island. Their principal posts were taken and strengthened with so much judgement, that it was not practicable to dislodge them. The royal army retained only the two posts of Brunswick and Amboy, the one situated a few miles up the Rariton, the other point of land at its mouth, and both holding an open communication with New-York by sea.

1777.

Lord Cornwallis returns from the Delaware to Brunswick.

Thus by a few well concerted and spirited actions, Americans over-
 was Philadelphia saved, Pennsylvania freed from danger, the Jerseys nearly recovered, and a victorious and far superior army reduced to act upon the defensive, and for several months restrained within very narrow and inconvenient limits. These actions, and the sudden recovery from the lowest state of weakness and distress, to become a formidable enemy in the field, raised the character of General Washington, as a commander, very high both in Europe and America; and with his preceding and subsequent conduct, serve all together to give a sanction to that appellation, which is now pretty generally applied to him, of the American Fabius.

Nor was this change of affairs to be attributed to any error in the British Generals, or fault in the troops which they commanded; but depended entirely upon the happy application of a number of powerful and concurring circumstances, which were far beyond their reach or controul. Though many of these were foreseen and pointed out by those who
 from

1777.

from the beginning, either opposed in public, or regretted in private, this war, and that others are now obvious to every body, it may not, however, be amiss to specify some of those causes which clogged it with particular difficulties.

Among the principal of these may be considered the vast extent of that continent, with its unusual distribution into great tracts of cultivated and savage territory; the long extent of sea coast in front, and the boundless wastes at the back of the inhabited countries, affording resource or shelter in all circumstances; the numberless inaccessible posts, and strong natural barriers, formed by the various combinations of woods, mountains, rivers, lakes and marshes. All these properties and circumstances, with others appertaining to the climates and seasons, may be said to fight the battles of the inhabitants of such countries in a defensive war. To these may be added others less local. The unexpected union, and unknown strength of the colonies; the judicious application of that strength, by suiting the defence to the nature, genius, and ability of the people, as well as to the natural advantages of the country, thereby rendering it a war of posts, surprises, and skirmishes, instead of a war of battles. To all these may be added, the people's not being bridled by strong cities, nor fettered by luxury to those which were otherwise, so that the reduction of a capital had no effect upon the rest of the province, and the army could retain no more territory than what it occupied, which was again lost as soon as it departed to another quarter.

British
and Aux-
iliary for-
ces keep
possession
of Brunf-
wick and
Amboy,
during the
remainder
of the
winter.

During the remaining winter, and the whole of the spring the army under Lord Cornwallis continued much straitened at Brunswick and Amboy, the troops undergoing, with the greatest perseverance and resolution, the hardships of a most severe and unremitting duty; whilst their ranks were
thinned

thinned by a continued series of skirmishes, which were productive of no real advantage on either side, other than that of inuring the Americans to military service. In a word, every load of forage which was procured, and every article of provision which did not come from New-York, was fought or purchased at the price of blood. 1777.

The consequence of the late military outrages in the Jerseys were severely felt in the present change of circumstances. As soon as fortune turned, and the means were in their power, the sufferers of all parties, the well disposed to the royal cause, as well as the neutrals and wavering, now rose as a man to revenge their personal injuries and particular oppressions, and being goaded by a keener spur, than any which a public cause, or general motive could have excited, became its bitterest and most determined enemies. Thus the whole country, with too few exceptions, became hostile; those who were incapable of arms, acting as spies, and keeping a continual watch for those who bore them; so that the smallest motion could not be made, without its being exposed and discovered, before it could produce its intended effect. Such were the untoward events, that in the winter damped the hopes of a victorious army, and nipped the laurels of a foregoing prosperous campaign.

We have formerly had occasion to shew, the bad ^{Indian} success which invariably attended the repeated ^{war.} attempts that had been made, of calling off the attention and force of the southern colonies from the support of the general alliance to their own immediate defence, by involving them effectually in civil war and domestic contention, either through the means of the well affected in general, the Regulators and Highland emigrants in the Carolinas, or of the Negroes in Virginia. We have also taken some small notice, of the charges made by the insurgents

1777.

gents in some of these provinces against their governors, of endeavouring to bring the savages down to further those designs.

The failure of these attempts, was not sufficient to damp the zeal of the British agents among the Indian nations, nor to render them hopeless of still performing some essential service, by engaging these people to make a diversion, and to attack the southern colonies in their back and defenceless parts. The Indians, ever light in act and faith, greedy of presents, and eager for spoil, were not difficultly induced, by a proper application of the one, and the hope of the other, concurring with their own natural disposition, to forget the treaties which they had lately confirmed or renewed with the colonists, and to engage in the design.

It was held out to them, that a British army was to land in West Florida, and after penetrating through the Creek, Chickesaw, and Cherokee countries, and being joined by the warriors of those nations, they were jointly to invade the Carolinas and Virginia, whilst another formidable force by sea and land, was to make a powerful impression on the coasts. Circular letters to the same import, were sent by Mr. Stuart, the principal agent for Indian affairs, to the inhabitants of the back settlements, requiring all the well-affected, as well as all those, who were willing to preserve themselves and their families from the inevitable calamities and destruction of an Indian war, to be in readiness to repair to the royal standard, as soon as it was erected in the Cherokee country, and to bring with them their horses, cattle, and provisions, for all of which they were promised payment. They were likewise required, for their present security, and future distinction from the King's enemies, to subscribe immediately to a written paper, declaratory of their allegiance.

The

The scheme was so plausible, and carried such a probability of success, that it seemed to have had a very extensive operation upon the disposition of the Indians, and to have prepared them in a great measure for a general confederacy against the Colonies. Even the six nations, who had before agreed to the observance of a strict neutrality, now committed several small acts of hostility, which were afterwards disowned by their elders and chiefs. The Creek Indians, more violent, began the southern war with all their usual barbarity, until finding that the expected succours did not arrive, they, with a foresight uncommon among Indians, stopped suddenly short, and repenting of what they had done, were, in the present state of affairs, easily excused; and being afterwards applied to for assistance by the Cherokees, returned for answer, that they, the latter, had plucked the thorn out of their foot, and were welcome to keep it.

1777.


But the Cherokees fell upon the adjoining colonies with determined fury, carrying, for a part of the summer, ruin and desolation wherever they came, scalping and slaughtering the people, and totally destroying their settlements. They were soon, however checked, and severely experienced, that things were much altered, since the time of their former warfare upon the same ground, and that the martial spirit now prevalent in the colonies, was extended to their remotest frontiers. They were not only repulsed or defeated in every action, by the neighbouring militia of Virginia and the Carolinas, but pursued into their own country, where their towns were demolished, their corn destroyed, and their warriors thinned in repeated engagements, until the nation was nearly exterminated, and the wretched survivors were obliged to submit to any terms prescribed by the victors; while the neighbouring nations of Indians were silent and passive spectators of their calamities.

E e e

Nor

1776.

Nor was this Indian war more fortunate, with respect to its effect on the well-affected on those quarters; who are not only said, to a man, to have expressed the utmost aversion to the authors, and abhorrence of the cruelty of that measure, but that some of the chief leaders of the tories, avowed a recantation of their former principles, merely upon that account.

Oct. 4.

It was in the midst of the bustle and danger of the war, and when the scale of fortune seemed to hang heavily against them, by the defeat on Long-Island, and the reduction of New-York, at a time when a great and invincible force by sea and land, carried dismay and conquest wherever it directed its course, that all the members of the Congress ventured to sign that remarkable treaty of perpetual compact and union between the thirteen revolted colonies, which lays down an invariable system of rules or laws, for their government in all public cases with respect to each other in peace or war, and is also extended to their commerce with foreign states. This piece, which may be considered as a most dangerous supplement to the Declaration of Independency, was published under the title of Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the thirteen specified states, and has since received, as the necessary forms would permit, the separate ratifications of each colony. Such was in general the state of affairs in America at the close of the year 1776. [*For these Articles at large, see Appendix.*]

C H A P. XIV.

1777.

State of affairs at New-York previous to the opening of the campaign. Loyal provincials embodied, and placed under the command of Governor Tryon. Expedition to Peek's Kill. To Danbury, under General Tryon. Magazines destroyed. General Wooster killed. Vessels and provisions destroyed at Sagg Harbour, by a detachment from Connecticut under Colonel Meigs. Advantages derived by General Washington, from the detention of the army at New-York through the want of tents. Different schemes suggested for conducting the operations of the campaign, all tending to one object. General Sir William Howe takes the field; fails in his attempt to bring Washington to action; retires to Amboy. Turns suddenly and advances upon the enemy. Skirmishes. Americans under Lord Sterling defeated. Washington regains his strong camp. Royal army pass over to Staten Island. Alarm excited by the preparations for the grand expedition. General Prescott carried off from Rhode Island. Rate of interest upon the public loan, advanced by the Congress. Monuments decreed for the Generals Warren and Mercer. Fleet and army depart from Sandy Hook, Force embarked on the expedition. Congress and Washington alarmed by the loss, of Ticonderoga. Fleet arrives at the River Elk, after a tedious voyage, and difficult passage up Chesapeak Bay. Army lands at Elk Ferry. Declaration issued by the General. Washington returns to the defence of Philadelphia. Advances to the Brandywine, and to Red-Clay Creek. Various movements on both sides. Action at the Brandywine. General Knyphausen makes an attack at Chad's Ford. Lord Cornwallis marches round to the forks of the Brandywine, where he passes, in order to attack the enemy's right. Defeats General Sullivan. Pursues his advantages until stopped by night. General Knyphausen passes at Chad's Ford. Enemy every where defeated. Loss on both sides. Reflections on the action. Victory not decisive. Foreign officers in the American service. Motions of the Armies. Engagement prevented by a great fall of rain. Major-General Grey, surprises and defeats a party of Americans under General Wayne. Royal army passes the Schuylkill, and advances to German-Town. Lord Cornwallis takes possession of Philadelphia. Some of the principal inhabitants sent prisoners to Virginia, upon the approach of the army. Attack on the new batteries at Philadelphia. Delaware frigate taken. Works constructed by the Americans to render the passage of the Delaware impracticable. Successful expedition to Billing's Fort, and a passage made through the lower barrier. Royal army surprised and attacked by the Americans at German-Town. Americans repulsed with loss and pursued. Brigadier General Agnew, and

Colonel

1777.

Colonel Bird killed. Army removes to Philadelphia. Unsuccessful attack upon the enemy's works on the Delaware. Hessians repulsed with great loss at Red Bank. Colonel Donop killed. Augusta man of war and Merlin sloop destroyed. New and effectual measures taken for forcing the enemy's works. Mud Island and Red Bank, abandoned, and taken with their artillery and stores. Americans burn their galleys and other shipping. Passage of the Delaware opened to Philadelphia. General Sir William Howe, finding all his efforts to bring Washington to a general action fruitless, returns with the army to Philadelphia. Americans Hut their camp at Valley Forge for the winter.

WE have already shewn the state and situation of the armies in America during the winter and greater part of the spring. As the season opened, and enlarged the field of enterprize, our commanders did not neglect seizing those advantages which nature and their naval superiority presented, in a country deeply intersected by navigable rivers, and continually laid open in other parts by the numberless inlets and channels, which the peculiar constructions of the islands and coasts, admit in their junction with the ocean and those rivers.

Loyal
Provinci-
als embo-
died, and
placed
under the
command
of G.
Tryon.

In the mean time a considerable body of provincial troops was formed under the auspices of General Sir William Howe, which by degrees amounted to several thousand men, and which under that denomination included, not only American, but British and Irish refugees from the different parts of the continent. This corps was entirely officered, either by those gentlemen, who for their attachment to the royal cause had been obliged to abandon their respective provinces, or by those who lived under that protection in the New-York islands. The new troops were placed for the temporary time of their service, upon the same footing as to pay, subsistence, and clothing, with the established national bodies of the royal army, with the further advantage to the private men and non-commissioned officers, that they were entitled to considerable allotments

lotments of vacant lands at the end of the troubles. This measure, besides its utility in point of strength, afforded some present provision to those, who having lost every thing in this unhappy contest, were now thrown upon the crown, as their only refuge, for support; whilst on the other side, instead of their being an heavy and unprofitable burden to the crown, they were placed in a condition which enabled them to become active and useful instruments in effecting its purposes. At the same time, this acquisition of strength, derived from, and growing in the country, carried a most flattering appearance, and seemed to indicate resources for the prosecution of the war in the very theatre of action.

1777.


As all new forces must of course be much fitter for defence, than for active service in the field, so it added much to the apparent utility of this measure, that the royal provincials could immediately be disposed of to the greatest advantage, in the protection and defence of New-York and the adjacent islands, supplying thereby the place of the veteran troops, and affording a free scope to the distant operations of the grand army. To render this defensive system for the islands more complete, Governor Tryon, who, already in his civil capacity commanded the militia, and who had taken the utmost pains in its establishment, was now placed by the commander in chief at the head of the new corps, under the title and rank of Major-General of the provincials, whereby he was enabled effectually to combine and bring into action the joint force of these separate bodies.

The great natural strength of the country, the vicinity of the North River, with its convenience in respect to the seat of war, had induced the Americans, during the winter, to erect mills and establish their principal magazines, in that rough and mountainous tract called the Manor of Courtland. Thus
it

1777.

it became their grand repository, and trusting in the security of this natural citadel, neither industry was wanting, nor expence spared, in abundantly providing it with immense supplies of provisions, forage, and stores, of all sorts. A place, otherwise of no importance, called Peek's Kill, which lies about fifty miles up the North River from New-York, served as a kind of port to Courtland Manor, by which it both received provisions, and dispensed supplies.

Sir William Howe was well aware of these circumstances in general, and was as well convinced of the decisive consequences which must ensue from the cutting off those resources, which the enemy had with such infinite labour and expence accumulated for the support and prosecution of the war. A general attempt upon Courtland Manor, would not only be dangerous, from the strength of the country, and impracticability of the ground; but must from its own nature be rendered abortive; as the length, the parade, and the manner of the preparation, would afford the Americans time and warning to assemble their whole force in that quarter; where, if we still persisted in our design, we must fight under every possible disadvantage, and a moral certainty of great loss; and if they did not chuse, even upon these terms, to hazard an engagement with us, they would have sufficient time to remove their magazines, before we could bring the point to any decision.

Expedi-
tion to
Peel's
Kill.

March
23d.

Peek's Kill, was, however, within reach, and the General determined to profit of that circumstance. Colonel Bird, with a detachment of about 500 men, under the conduct of a frigate of war, and other armed vessels, was sent on board some transports up the North River for that service. The enemy upon the approach of the British armament, finding, or thinking themselves, unequal to the defence of the place

place, and being convinced, that there was no possible time to remove any thing but their arms and bodies, set fire to the barracks, and principal store-houses and then retired to a strong pass at about two miles distance, which commanded the entrance into the mountains, and covered a road which led to some of the mills and other deposits. The British troops upon their landing, perceiving that they could not have time or opportunity to bring off the provisions or other articles, completed the conflagration. All the magazines were destroyed. The troops re-embarked when the service was performed, and the armament, after destroying several small craft laden with provisions, returned.

1777.

This service, however, was far from filling up the outline of the General's design. The magazines at Peek's Kill were not of the importance and magnitude which he had been led to expect, and something, if possible, must still be done, to weaken the enemy by cutting off their resources. He obtained intelligence, that the Americans had deposited large quantities of stores and provisions in the town or village of Danbury, and other places in the borders of Connecticut, which lay contiguous to Courtland Manor. An expedition was accordingly undertaken for the destruction of these deposits, the charge of which, as an introduction to his new military command, was committed to Governor Tryon, who was assisted by those active and able officers, Brigadier General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine. The expedition was said to be undertaken on a plan of General Tryon, who had flattered himself with find-

April 25.

The detachment appointed to this service consisted of about 2000 men, who being passed through the Sound, under the convoy of a proper naval armament, were landed near Norwalk in Connecticut,

Expedition to Danbury

1776.

Mega-
zines de-
stroyed.

cut, about 20 miles to the Southward of Danbury. As the country was in no state of preparation, nor under any apprehension of the design, the troops advanced without interruption, and arrived at Danbury the following day. They now perceived that the country was rising to intercept their return, and as no carriages could be procured, if it had been otherwise, to bring off the stores and provisions, they immediately proceeded to the destruction of the magazine. In the execution of this prompt service, the town was unavoidably burnt.

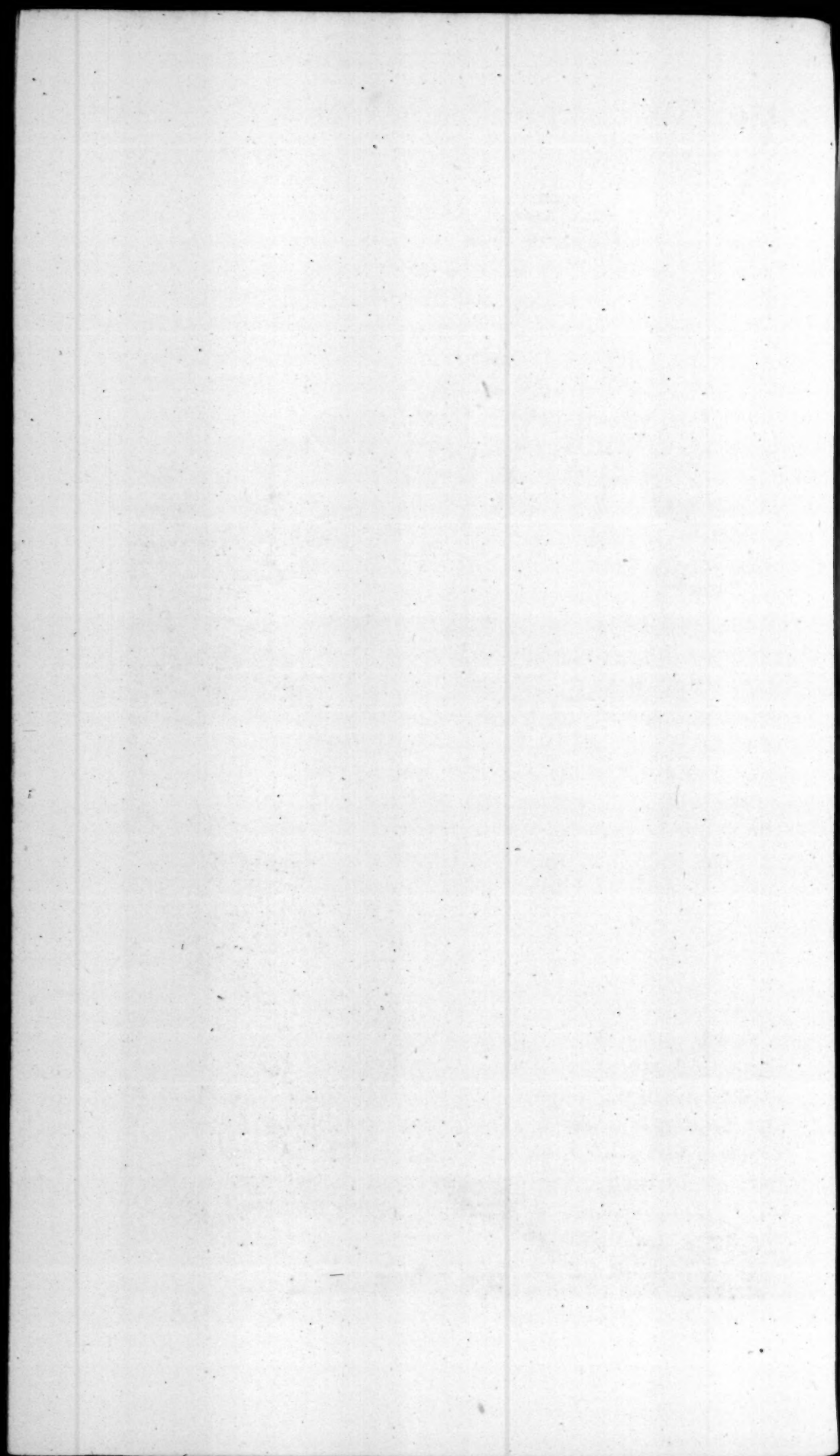
General
Wooster
killed.

The detachment returned on the 27th by the way of Ridgefield. In the mean time the Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, having hastily arrived from different quarters, and collected such militia as were within their reach, endeavoured by every possible means to interrupt their march, until a greater force could arrive to support them with effect in the design of cutting off their retreat. The first of these officers hung upon the rear of the detachment, whilst Arnold, by crossing the country gained their front, in order to dispute their passage through Ridgefield. Nor could the excellent order and formidable appearance of the British forces, who had large covering parties well furnished with field pieces on their flanks and rear, nor the tumultuary manner in which a militia not very numerous were got together, prevent the Americans, upon every advantage of the ground, from making bold attempts to interrupt the progress of the King's army. In one of these skirmishes, Wooster an experienced Provincial officer, who had served with some reputation in the two former wars, at an age approaching closely to seventy, and in the active exertion of a valour, which favoured more of rashness, than of the temperance and discretion of that time of life, was mortally wounded, and died with the same resolution that he had lived.

The



Major General David Wooster.



The royal forces had only got quit of Wooster, when they found themselves engaged with Arnold, who had got possession of Ridgefield, and with less than an hour's advantage of time, had already thrown up some sort of an entrenchment to cover his front. The courage and discipline of the British troops, would have triumphed over an enemy more equal in force and condition. The village was forced, and the Americans drove back on all sides. The action was sharp, and Arnold displayed his usual intrepidity. His horse having been shot within a few yards of our foremost ranks, he suddenly disengaged himself, and drawing out a pistol, shot the soldier dead who was running up to transfix him with his bayonet. 1777.

General Tryon lay that night at Ridgefield, and renewed his march on the morning of the 28th. The enemy having been reinforced with troops and cannon, the army was exceedingly harrassed during this day's march. Every advantageous post was seized and disputed, whilst hovering parties on the flanks and rear, continually endeavoured to disturb the order of march, and to profit of every difficulty of ground. The army at length gained, in good time, the Hill of Compo, within cannon shot of the ships. It was then evening, and their ammunition exhausted, although it is reported, that they had been supplied with sixty rounds a man at their outset upon the expedition. The forces immediately formed upon the high ground, where the enemy seemed more determined and resolute in their attack than they had been hitherto. In this situation, the General ordered the troops to advance, and to charge with their bayonets. This order was executed with such impetuosity, that the enemy was totally broken, and every thing being prepared at the shore for their reception, the troops were embarked without further molestation.

1777.

Large quantities of corn, flour, and salt provisions, a great number of tents, with various military stores and necessaries, were destroyed in the course of this expedition. The loss of men on the royal side, was, as usual, much less considerable than could have been expected; the whole, in killed, wounded and missing, amounted to 172, of whom more than two thirds were wounded. The general loss under all these heads on the American side was more than double, and the number of the slain about four to one. On the British side no officer was killed. On theirs, besides General Wooster, they lost three colonels, and a Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of consideration in that country. The number of officers that happened to be in that country, and to assemble on the occasion, was out of all proportion to that of the private men; whilst the raw and undisciplined state of the militia, together with their weakness and point of number, obliged the former, as well as those volunteer gentlemen who joined them, to uncommon exertions, and to expose themselves in an extraordinary degree. These circumstances may account for the number of men of rank, in their service who fell on that side.

Upon the whole, the effect of this expedition did not probably answer the expectation upon which it was founded. The actual public stores at Danbury and other places were far inferior to what they had been supposed or represented; and though much mischief was done, it may appear doubtful, whether the loss sustained on the one side was equivalent to the risque encountered on the other. Events, however, are not to be considered as tests of conduct, and it must ever be one of the first objects with a great general, to render the force of the enemy inefficacious by cutting off their resources.

It was perhaps in return for this expedition that the Connecticut men not long after paid a visit to
Long-

Long-Island. Having received intelligence that Commissaries had for some time been employed on the east end of Long-Island, in procuring forage, grain, and other necessaries for the British forces, and that these articles were deposited for embarkation at a little port called Sagg Harbour; the distance of that place from New York, and the weakness of the protection, which consisted only of a company of foot and an armed schooner of twelve guns, afforded encouragement for a design to frustrate the scheme of supplying the wants of the army. The principal difficulty and danger lay in passing and repassing of the Sound, which was continually traversed by the British cruizers.

Colonel Meigs, an enterprizing officer, who had attended Arnold in the expedition to Quebec, and had been taken prisoner in the attempt to storm that city, conducted this enterprize. Having passed his detachment in whale-boats through the Sound, and landed on the north branch of the Island, where it is intersected by a bay that runs in far from the East end, it seems by the account, which is not in that part very clear, as if they had carried their boats over that arm of the land. They, however, embarked again on the bay, which he crossed with 139 men, and landed on the fourth branch of the island, within four miles of Sagg Harbour. They arrived at the place before day, and notwithstanding the resistance they met with from the guard and crews of the vessels, and the vigorous efforts of the schooner, which kept up a continued fire of round and grape shot at 150 yards distance, they fully completed their design; having burnt a dozen brigs and sloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely destroyed every thing on the shore. They brought off with them about 90 prisoners, consisting of the officer who commanded with his men, the commissaries and most of the masters and crews of the small vessels which they destroyed. A circumstance which renders this

1777.

Vessels
and pro-
visions
destroyed
at Sagg-
Harbour.

1777. this expedition particularly curious, if a fact, is asserted by the Americans. They say, that the party returned to Guilford, in Connecticut, in 25 hours from the time of their departure, having during that space, not only effectually completed the design of their expedition, but having traversed no less by land and by water, than 90 miles. A degree of expedition, which requires some credulity to be admitted; and from whence, if the fact is established, it would appear that Meigs possesses no inconsiderable portion of that spirit which operates in the Canada expedition.

The season for action was now advanced; but from some improvidence or inattention unaccounted for, at home, the army was restrained from taking the field through the want of tents and field equipage. Lord Cornwallis however made shift with the old tents to encamp the forces at Brunswick on the hills that commanded the Rariton, and along the communications upon that river to Amboy; the example being followed at the latter place by General Vaughan.

This delay was of the utmost importance to the Americans. The winter campaign had been principally carried on by detachments of the militia, the greater part of whom returned home when the time of their service was expired. Others more generous, more patient of toil, or more sanguine in the common cause, outlasted the allotted time, merely from a consideration of the weakness of the army, and the ruin which must attend their departure before it was reinforced. In the mean time, the business of recruiting under an engagement of serving during the war, or even for three years, went on but slowly. The term of service was contrary to the genius and habits of the people, and the different provinces found the greatest difficulty in raising any thing near the stipulated proportion.

portion of troops which had been allotted for each by the Congress. In this extremity, the making of draughts from the militia, was looked to in several as the dernier resort. Such an act of force, however, upon those who were contending for liberty on the most enlarged plans, and who considered all the rights of freemen as sacred, was irksome and dangerous. Every method was tried to avoid having recourse to this disagreeable measure and final resource. In some of the colonies the enlisting of apprentices, and of Irish indentured servants was permitted, contrary to former resolutions and decrees, with a promise of indemnification to their masters. As a farther check upon the increase of the force in the Jerseys, the New-England provinces which abounded with men, were taken up with their domestic concerns. An invasion was expected on the side of Canada; Hudson's-River and Rhode-Island afforded continual room for apprehension; nor did any expedition against Boston appear at all improbable; especially as the great number of British prizes which were brought into that port, had, besides rendering it an object of the first importance, renewed, and even increased, if possible, the detestation and abhorrence with which that people had been long regarded.

1777.

In such circumstances the advantages of an early campaign, and the benefit which the enemy derived from the delay, were obvious. The fine weather brought reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerseys. Those who shuddered at a winter's campaign grew bold in summer; and the certainty of a future winter, had no greater effect than distant evils usually have. Upon this increase of strength, towards the latter end of May, General Washington quitted his former position in the neighbourhood of Morris-Town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunswick, took possession of the strong country along Middle Brook.

Advantages derived by G. Washington.

Upon

1777.

Upon this single movement, hung a great part of the future events of the war in the Jerseys. Washington turned that advantageous situation to every account of which it was capable. His camp winding along the course of the hills, was strongly entrenched, fortified, and well covered with artillery; nor was it better secured by its immediate natural or artificial defences, than by the difficulties of approach which the ground in front threw into the way of an enemy. In this situation he commanded a view of the British encampments on the hills of Brunswick, and of much of the intermediate country towards that place and Amboy.

Different
schemes
respect-
ing the
campaign

The great object of the campaign on the side of New-York seems to have been, that Sir William Howe should have penetrated through the Jerseys to the Delaware, driving Washington before him, so as to clear those provinces entirely of the enemy, at the same time reducing the inhabitants to so effectual a state of subjection, as to establish a safe and open communication between that city and the army. If in the prosecution of this design the enemy hazarded a battle, nothing was more wished, nor could any great doubt be entertained of success; or if they constantly retired, which was more to be expected, the consequences in regard to the general objects would be nearly the same, and the army having by the reduction of the Jerseys, left every thing safe in its rear, and secured the passage of the Delaware, would of course become masters of Philadelphia, which from its situation was incapable of any effectual defence, and could only be protected by Washington, at the certain expence and hazard of a battle.

In this manner several conceived and reasoned on the operations in Jersey. Others were clearly of opinion, that the bringing of Washington to a decisive action upon terms of any tolerable equality with

with regard to ground, in such a country and against his inclinations, was a thing impracticable. That if he could not be brought to such an action in such a manner, so as wholly to drive him out of the Jerseys, the attempt to pass a river like the Delaware, full of armed vessels in its stream, strong forts in its islands, great obstructions in its channels, with an enemy in front, and leaving a strong army in rear, would be a very unadvised enterprize: and the failure in it would be the total and immediate ruin of the royal cause in America.

1777.
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On the other hand, if the obstacles in the Jerseys were found so great that they could not be overcome without much loss of time and expence of blood, it was thought adviseable, in those circumstances, to profit of the powerful naval force, and the infinite number of transports and vessels of all sorts which lay at New-York; to combine this powerful auxiliary (which had hitherto produced such signal advantages, in every instance where it could be brought into action) with the land force, and by conveying the army by sea to the place of its destination, to elude all those difficulties by which the passage through the Jerseys might be clogged. In this alternative, the object was still the same, the means of attaining it being only changed. Philadelphia was the immediate point in view. If that object was properly chosen, and the general opinion at that time pointed it out as the most eligible, the passage by sea seemed the most secure of its effects, though unquestionably the slowest in the operation. The Delaware, or the great bay of Chesapeak, opened the way into the heart of the richest and best of the central colonies, and led either directly, or by crossing a country of no great extent, to the possession of that place. That point gained, Philadelphia was to become the place of arms, and center of action, whilst every part of the three hostile and flourishing Provinces of Pennsylvania,

1777.

vania, Virginia, and Maryland, would, from their deep bays and navigable rivers, be exposed to the composed powerful action, and continual operation of the land and marine force. However, before this plan was adopted, as we shall see, measures were taken in the Jerseys, if possible, to bring Washington to an action.

The operations in the southern or central provinces, however efficacious or extensive, did not, by any means include all the great objects of the campaign. Something was of course to be expected on the side of Canada, where a very considerable army had been collected, and by the success of the last campaign on the lakes, had a way opened for it to penetrate into the back parts of the New-England and New-York provinces. The command in this expedition was committed to General Burgoyne, who was reported to be author of the plan. The great body was to be seconded by a lesser expedition from the upper part of Canada, by the way of Oswego to the Mohawk River. This scheme was eagerly adopted by the Ministers, who founded the greatest hopes upon its success. All the advantages that had ever been expected from the complete possession of Hudson's River, the establishment of a communication between the two armies, the cutting off the intercourse between the Northern and Southern Colonies, with the consequent opportunity of crushing the former, detached and cut off from all assistance, it was now hoped would have been realized. The greater hopes were conceived of it, from the opinion entertained of the effect of the savages on the minds of the Americans. It was known, that the Provincials in general were in great dread of them, from their cruel and desolating manner of making war. These were therefore collected at great expence, and with much labour, from all parts of the continent. In a word, this expedition seemed to become the favourite object of the present year.

The

The tents and field equipage, with a body of Anspach troops, and a number of British and German recruits, having at length arrived at New-York by the beginning of June, the General, Sir William Howe, passed over to the Jerseys, and took the field about the middle of that month. The enemy were now in a strong state of defence. Washington's army, besides the advantages it derived from the inaccessible posts which it occupied, was become more considerable as to number and force. Several bodies of the New-England troops, under the Generals Gates, Parsons, and Arnold, advanced to the borders of the North River, where they were ready to pass over to the Jerseys, whenever opportunity invited their action, or the necessity of their friends demanded their assistance. At the same time, the Jersey militia assembled from every quarter with the greatest alacrity, so that in every position it took, and motion it made, the army was watched and environed by enemies.

The General left nothing untried that could provoke Washington to an engagement, and no measure untried that could induce him to quit his position. He pushed on detachments; and made movements, as if he intended to pass him, and advance to the Delaware. This manœuvre proving ineffectual, he advanced in the front of his lines, where he continued for four days, exploring the approaches to his camp, and accurately examining the situation of his posts, hoping that some weak or unguarded part might be found, upon which an attack could be ventured with a probability of success, or that, in the nearness of the armies, chance, inadvertence, impatience, or error, might occasion some movement, or be productive of some circumstances, which would open the way to a general engagement. All these hopes were frustrated. Washington knew the full value of his situation. As he had too much temper to be provoked or surprized,



1777. into a dereliction of his advantages, so he had too much penetration to lose them by circumvention or sleight. And he had too long profited of that rule of conduct from which he had not once, hitherto deviated during the course of the troubles, of never committing the fortune of America to the hazard of a single action, to depart from it upon this occasion, when it was not even demanded by any urgent necessity.

Sir William Howe did not yet seem to have abandoned his design, of enticing Washington to quit his fastnesses. He suddenly retreated, and with some apparent marks of precipitation, from his position in the front of the enemy, and withdrawing his troops from Brunswick, returned with the whole army towards Amboy. If the General's design was what we have supposed, this movement produced all the immediate effect which he could have expected. The army was eagerly pursued by several large bodies of the American regular forces as well as of the Jersey militia, under the command of the Generals Maxwell, Lord Sterling and Conway; the latter of whom was a Colonel of the Irish Brigade, and one of that numerous train of officers in the French service, who had taken an active part against Great Britain in this unhappy civil war.

Such trifling advantages as the best regulated retreat must afford to the pursuers, and some excesses committed, perhaps with a view to the general design, by the retiring soldiers, served to increase the ardour, and inflame the passions of the Americans. The measures, which the General immediately adopted at Amboy completed the delusion. The bridge which was intended for the Delaware, was thrown over the channel which separates the Continent from Staten island. The heavy baggage, and all the incumbrances of the army, were passed over.

Some

Some of the troops followed, and every thing was in immediate preparation for the passage of the rest of the army. By these judicious measures, if the immediate design failed of effect, every thing was forwarded as much as it could be for the intended embarkation; a measure of which the Americans had as yet no knowledge.

1777.

Every thing concurred, along with the vanity natural to mankind, in inducing the Americans to believe, that the retreat was not only real, but that it proceeded from a knowledge of their superiority, and a dread of their power: Even Washington himself with all his caution and penetration, was so far imposed upon by the feint, that he quitted his secure posts upon the Hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble-town, to be the nearer at hand for the protection or support of his advanced parties.

The British General lost no time in endeavouring to profit of those circumstances. He immediately marched the army back by different routes, from Amboy. He had three objects in view. To cut off some of the principal advanced parties; to come up with, and bring the enemy to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Quibble-town; or, if this design, through the celerity of the enemy, failed in the effect, it was intended that Lord Cornwallis, who, with his column, was to take a considerable circuit to the right, should, by turning the enemy's left, take possession of some passes in the mountains, which, their situation and command of ground, would have reduced them to a necessity of abandoning that strong camp, which had hitherto afforded them so advantageous a security.

Turns suddenly and advances upon the enemy.

Lord Cornwallis having dispersed the smaller advanced parties of the enemy, fell in at length with Lord Sterling, who with about 3000 men, strongly posted in a woody country, and well covered by artillery

Skirmishes.

1777.  
 Americans under Lord Sterling defeated.

tillery judiciously disposed, not only lay full in his way, but shewed a determination to dispute his passage with vigour and firmness. The ardour excited upon this occasion by an emulation between the British and Hessian troops was conspicuous and irresistible. All obstacles gave way to their impetuosity in pressing forward, to try who should obtain the honour of first coming to a close engagement with the enemy. The party of Americans first attacked, unable to withstand the shock, were soon routed on all sides, having sustained, besides no inconsiderable loss in men, that of three pieces of brass ordnance, which were taken by the British Guards, and the Hessian grenadiers. The pursuit was continued as far as Westfield, but the woods, and the intense heat of the weather, prevented its effect.

Washington re-gains his strong camp.

In the mean time, General Washington soon perceived, and as speedily remedied his error, by withdrawing his army from the plains, and again recovering his strong camp on the hills. At the same time, penetrating into Lord Cornwallis's further design, he secured those strong passes in the mountains, the possession of which by the British troops, would have exposed him to the necessity of a critical change of position, which could not have been executed without danger.

Royal army pass over to Staten-Island.

Thus was this, apparently well concerted scheme of bringing the enemy to an action, or at least of withdrawing them from their strong holds, rendered abortive, by the caution and prudence of General Washington. Sir William Howe was now convinced, that he was too firmly attached to his defensive plan of conducting the war, to be induced by any means, other than by some very clear and decided advantage, to hazard a general engagement. Nothing then remained to be done in the Jerseys. To advance to the Delaware, through a country entirely hostile,



hostile, and with such a force in his rear, appeared to the British commanders no better than madness. All delay was therefore not only fruitless, but a waste of that time and season, which might be employed to great advantage elsewhere. The General accordingly returned with the army to Amboy, on the second day from its departure on the expedition, and passed it over on the next to Staten-Island, from whence the embarkation was intended to take place.

1777.

The preparations for this grand expedition excited a general alarm throughout the Continent. Boston, the North River, the Delaware, Chesapeak Bay, and even Charles-Town, were alternately held to be its objects. General Washington, in pursuance of the intelligence which he continually received from New-York, and the other islands, was constantly dispatching expresses to put those places upon their guard, against which, from immediate information, he supposed for the time the storm to be directed. It was one of the manifest advantages of proceeding by sea, that it was impossible for Washington directly to know where the storm would fall. He must therefore keep his position; and the King's army must necessarily make a considerable progress towards its object, before he could be in a condition to resist them; and such a progress would not leave him that choice of posts, by which hitherto he had avoided a general action.

Alarm  
excited  
by the  
prepara-  
tions for  
the  
grand  
expedi-  
tion.

During the cessation procured by preparation on the one side, and apprehension on the other, a spirited adventure on the side of Rhode Island, not only retaliated the surprize of General Lee, but seemed to procure an indemnification for his person. Colonel Barton, a Provincial, with several other officers and volunteers, passed by night from Providence to Rhode Island, and though they had a long passage by water, they eluded the watchfulness of the ships of war and guard boats which surrounded the

General  
Prescot  
carried  
off from  
Rhode-  
Island.

1777. the island, and conducted their enterprize with such silence, boldness, and dexterity, that they surprized Gen. Prescott, who commanded in chief, in his quarters, and brought him and his Aid-de-Camp, through all those perils, safe to the Continent. This little adventure produced much exultation on the one side, and more regret than it seemed to deserve on the other, from the influence which it must necessarily have on the destination of General Lee. It was, however, particularly galling and grievous to General Prescott, who not long before had carried matters to such a length, as to set a price upon Arnold, and offer a reward for taking his person, as if he had been a common out-law or robber; an insult which Arnold immediately returned, by setting an inferior price upon the General's person.

Rate of  
interest  
upon the  
public  
loan

Monu-  
ments de-  
creed for  
the Ge-  
nerals  
Warren  
and  
Mercer.

Some time previous to these transactions, the Congress had found it necessary to advance the rate of interest upon the large loan which they proposed for the service and upon the credit of the united Provinces, from four, which was first offered, to six per cent. As a testimony of public gratitude, and a future incitement to, what they considered or held out, as virtue and patriotism, they ordered, that a monument should be erected at Boston, in honour of Major General Warren, who commanded and fell in the engagement at Bunker's Hill, and another in Virginia, in honour of Brigadier General Mercer, who was slain in the action near Prince-Town; the resolution conveying in a very few words, the highest eulogium on the character and merits of the deceased. They likewise decreed, that the eldest son of the former of these gentlemen, and the youngest son of the latter, should be educated at the expence of the United States. As Mercer had a good landed estate, the propriety of adopting his youngest son as the child of the public is obvious.

Not

Nptwithstanding the preparations that had already been made for the embarkation, and the assistance afforded by the crews of near 300 vessels, yet such are the unavoidable delays incident to such operations when at all extensive, that it was not until the 23d of July that the fleet and army were able to depart from Sandy Hook. In order more effectually to perplex and deceive the enemy, the General ordered some transports, with a ship cut down to act as a floating battery, up the North River, a little before the embarkation was completed; a feint which succeeded so far as to induce Washington to detach a considerable body of his army across that river.

1777.

Fleet and  
army de-  
part from  
Sandy  
Hook.

The force that embarked upon the expedition consisted of 36 British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New-York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse. Seventeen battalions, with a regiment of light horse, and the remainder of the new Provincial corps, were left for the protection of New-York, and the adjoining islands. Rhode island was occupied by seven battalions. So much was the active force of the army restrained, by the possession, which it was, however, indispensably necessary to hold, of these important posts. It is said, that the General intended to have taken a greater force with him upon the expedition; but that upon the representations of General Clinton, who was to command in his absence, of the danger to which the islands would be exposed, from the extensiveness of their coasts, and the great number of posts that were necessarily to be maintained, he acknowledged the force of these arguments by relanding several regiments.

Force  
embarked  
on the ex-  
pedition.

Whilst both Gen. Washington and the Congress were sufficiently engaged, by their attention to the movements, and apprehension of the designs of the powerful

Congress  
& Wash-  
ington  
alarmed  
by the loss  
of Ticon-  
deroga.



1777.  powerful fleet and army which was conducted by the brother Generals and Commissioners, the rapid progress of General Burgoyne on the side of the Lakes, and the unaccountable conduct of their commanders in abandoning Ticonderoga, were events so alarming and unexpected, that they could not fail to perplex their counsels, and considerably to impede their defensive preparations in other parts. The Congress behaved with firmness in this exigency. They immediately issued orders for a recall to head quarters, and an enquiry into the conduct of the general officers who had abandoned Ticonderoga; they directed Washington to appoint other commanders; and they likewise directed him to summon such numbers of the militia from the eastern and central provinces for the northern service, as he should deem sufficient for restraining the progress of the enemy.

The voyage was far from being favourable to the fleet and army, engaged on the expedition. It cost them a week to gain the Capes of Delaware. The information which the commanders received there, of the measures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, afforded so little encouragement to the prosecution of their design by that way, that it was given up, and a passage by Chesapeak Bay, to that part of Maryland, which lies to the East of that vast inlet, and not at a very great distance to the South-West of Philadelphia, was adopted in its place, as presenting fewer obstacles to their operations. The winds were so contrary in this part of the voyage, that the middle of August was turned before they entered Chesapeak Bay; a circumstance highly inconvenient and irksome in that hot season of the year, with so great a number of men and horses, crowded and cooped up in the vessels; but which must have been attended with the most fatal consequences, if the foresight of the commanders had not guarded against every event

event by the unbounded provision they had made for the voyage, as a failure in any one article, even that of water, would have been probably irremediable. 1777.

The winds fortunately proved fair in the bay, so that the fleet gained the mouth of the River Elk near its extremity, in safety, through a most intricate and dangerous navigation for such a multitude of vessels, in which the Admiral performed the different parts of a commander, inferior officer, and pilot, with his usual ability and perseverance. Having proceeded up the Elk as far as it was capable of admitting their passage, the army was at length relieved from its long and tiresome confinement on board the transports, being landed without any opposition at Elk Ferry, in a degree of health and condition which could scarcely have been expected on the 25th of August. Whilst one part of the army advanced to the head of Elk, the other continued at the landing place, to protect and forward their artillery, stores, and necessary provisions, the General not permitting the troops to be much incumbered with baggage; indeed the scarcity of carriage rendered even a great abridgment in the article of tents necessary.

Fleet arrives at the River Elk.

In the mean time, General Washington, with the army from the Jerseys, had returned to the defence of Philadelphia, and upon advice of the descent at Elk, advanced to the Brandywine Creek, or River, which, crossing the country about half way to that city, falls into the Delaware. Their force, including the militia, amounted to 15,000 men, which was probably about the number, making the necessary allowance for posts and communications, that the royal army could bring into action. Washing-  
ton returns to the defence of Philadelphia.

Sir William Howe, in order to quiet and conciliate the minds of the people in Pennsylvania, the Delaware

H h h

laware

1777. *Declara-  
tion issued by the  
General.* laware Counties and the adjacent parts of Maryland, and to prevent a total desertion and desolation of the country in the front of the army, published a declaration, in which he promised, that the strictest regularity, good order and discipline, should be observed by the army, and the most perfect security and effectual protection afforded to all his Majesty's peaceable and well disposed subjects; extending at the same time this security and protection to such persons, who not having been guilty of assuming legislative or judicial authority, might otherwise have acted illegally in subordinate stations, upon the proviso of their immediate return to their habitations, and peaceable demeanor for the future. He also offered a free and general pardon to all officers and soldiers in arms, who should surrender themselves to the royal army.

It was not till the 3d of September, that the army was enabled to quit the head of Elk, and pursue its course towards Philadelphia. In the mean time the enemy had advanced from the Brandywine, and taken post on Red Clay Creek, from whence they pushed detachments forward, to occupy difficult posts in the woods, and to interrupt, by continual skirmishes, the line of march. As the country was difficult, woody, and not well known, and that the genius of the enemy lay to profit of such circumstances, the General advanced slowly, and with extraordinary caution. He was from necessity, as well as disposition, sparing of his troops. Recruits were brought from a prodigious distance, and procured with difficulty even at the source. Every man killed, wounded, or taken, was to him an irreparable loss, and so far as it went, an incurable weakening of the army, for the present year at least. On the other hand, the enemy were at home. Every loss they suffered was not only immediately repaired, but the military ability of the survivors was increased by every destruction of their fellows.

This



This caution could not, however, prevent some skirmishes, in which the royal forces were almost always victorious. It does not appear that the Americans made all the use that might be expected of the advantage which the country afforded for harrassing and impeding the progress of the British army. After several movements on both sides, the enemy retired beyond the Brandywine, where they took possession of the heights, and covered the fords, with an evident intention of disputing the passage of that river.

1777.

In this situation the British army, at day break, advanced in two columns towards the enemy. The right, under the command of General Knyphausen, marched directly to Chad's Ford, which lay in the center of the enemy's line, where they expected, and were prepared for the principal attack; their right and left covering other less practicable fords and passages for some miles on either hand. A heavy cannonade commenced on both sides about ten o'clock, which was well supported during the day, whilst the General, to amuse and deceive the enemy, made repeated dispositions for forcing the Ford, the passage of the river seeming to be his immediate and determined object. To impede or frustrate this design, they had passed several detachments to the other side, who, after a course of skirmishes, sometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, were at length finally, with an eager pursuit, driven over the river. Thus the noise and semblance of a battle was held up, and the expectation kept continually alive to the most immediate and decisive consequences.

Sept. 11

Advances to the Brandywine, and to Red Clay Creek.

Whilst the attention of the Americans was thus fully occupied in the neighbourhood of Chad's Ford, and that they supposed the royal force was in their front, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the second column, took a long circuitous march to the left, until

Various movements on both sides.

1777. until he gained the Forks of the Brandywine, where the division of the river rendered it of course more practicable. By this very judicious movement, his Lordship passed both branches of the river at Trimbles, and at Jeffery's Ford, without opposition or difficulty, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then turning short down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to fall upon the enemy's right.

General Washington having, however, received intelligence of this movement about noon, endeavoured, as well as he could, to provide against its effect, by detaching General Sullivan with all the force he could venture to withdraw from the main body, to oppose Lord Cornwallis. Sullivan shewed a considerable share of judgment and ability in the execution of this commission. He took a very strong position on the commanding grounds above Birmingham church, with his left extending towards the Brandywine, his artillery advantageously disposed, and both flanks covered with very thick woods.

Action at  
the Bran-  
dywine.

As this disposition obliged Lord Cornwallis to form a line of battle, it was about four o'clock before the action began. Neither the good disposition of the enemy, the advantages of situation, nor a heavy and well supported fire of small arms and artillery, were at all sufficient to restrain the impetuosity of the British and Hessian troops. The light infantry, chasseurs, grenadiers, and guards, rushing on through all obstacles and dangers, drove the enemy, in spite of all their efforts, though not without a spirited opposition, from their posts, and pursued them pell-mell into the woods on their rear. In the mean time, a part of the enemy's right, which had not been broken, took a second strong position in a wood on the same side, from whence, after some considerable resistance, they were dislodged and pursued by detachments from the second line.

Several

Several bodies of the troops that were first engaged, got so deeply entangled in the woods through the eagerness of pursuit, that they were not able to rejoin the army before night. In the mean time, as the main and collected body continued advancing, they came upon a corps of the enemy which had not yet been engaged, and which had taken possession of a strong post, to cover the retreat of the defeated wing of their army. A very warm engagement now ensued, and this post was so vigorously defended, that it was some time after dark before it could be forced. The darkness, the uncertainty of the ground, of General Knyphausen's situation, together with the extreme fatigue which the troops had undergone, in a long march and severe action, which had scarcely admitted of the smallest respite during the whole course of the day, all concurred in preventing the army from pursuing its advantages any farther.

1777.

General Knyphausen, after successfully amusing the enemy all day with the apprehension of an attack which he did not intend, made his passage good in the evening, when he found that they were already deeply engaged on the right. He carried the entrenchment, and took the battery and cannon, which defended and covered Chad's Ford. At this instant, some of the British troops, who had been entangled in, and had penetrated through the woods, threw the enemy into such a confusion, that an immediate retreat, or rather flight, took place in all parts. The lateness and darkness of the evening, prevented a pursuit here, as it had done on the right.

General Knyphausen makes an attack at Chad's Ford.

Lord Cornwallis attacks the enemy's right.

A few hours more daylight would have been undoubtedly productive of a total and ruinous defeat to the Americans. Loss on both sides

A



1777.

A part of their troops, among whom were particularly numbered some of the Virginia regiments, and the whole corps of artillery, behaved exceeding well in some of the actions of this day, exhibiting a degree of order, firmness, and resolution, and preserving such a countenance in extremely sharp service, as would not have discredited veterans. Some other bodies of their troops behaved very badly. Their loss was very considerable, which probably was the cause that it was not particularly specified in their own accounts. In the Gazette it was computed, at about 300 killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken prisoners. They also lost ten small field pieces, and a howitzer, of which all, but one, were brass.

The loss in the royal army was not in proportion, being something under five hundred, of which the slain did not amount to one fifth. The officers suffered considerably, especially in wounded, though no one of higher rank than a captain was killed. The enemy retreated first to Chester, and on the next day to Philadelphia. The victorious army lay that night on the field of battle.

Reflections on the action.

Washington, so far as we can judge at this distance, seems to have been more out-generalled in this action, than any other since the beginning of the war. This conclusion is not, however, to be considered as established; as we are sensible that it may be well questioned, from the premises even before us. The defence of such a length of river, intersected with fords, and some at remote distances, was undoubtedly impracticable. If it be asked then why the attempt was made, it may be answered, that his great object was to harass, and to interrupt the progress of the royal army to Philadelphia, by every possible means, which did not involve his own in the risque of a general engagement; that even a superior loss of men, was not to be considered

dered by him, to whom perhaps it was necessary to learn, even by a dangerous experiment, the improvement and state of his own troops. His choice of a post on the Brandywine, in preference to those more defensible that were nearer to Philadelphia, has been censured; but how far this choice was altogether in his power does not fully appear. And, however difficult he was in point of intelligence, with respect to Lord Cornwallis's movement, he shewed great ability in his endeavours to remedy that negligence, by the prompt and judicious measures which he took to cover his right. Whatever the merits or demerits were on this side of the question, it must be acknowledged, that the movements of the royal army were judicious and masterly.

1777.  


The present unhappyy contest was so interesting to foreigners, and rendered America so conspicuous a theatre of action, that it drew bold and enterprising spirits, from different parts of Europe, either merely in search of glory and rank, or to acquire military experience and improvement. Among the numerous instances of this nature which might be given, a few are necessary, and will be sufficient. The Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, of the first rank, and of large fortune, was so carried away by this enthusiasm, as to purchase and freight a ship with military stores (in which he embarked with several of his friends) for the service of the Americans; he bore a command, and was wounded in this action. The Baron St. Ovary, another French volunteer, for whose release the Congress shewed a particular attention, was soon after made a prisoner. De Coudry, a French General, was about this time drowned in the Schuylkill, through his eagerness to come in time into action. Roche de Fermoy, was a member of the council of war, who had signed the resolution for abandoning Ticonderoga. Pulawiki, a noble Pole, commanded a detachment of American light-horse in the action

Motions  
of the  
armies.

of

1777.

of the Brandywine. Count Graboufskie, another Polish nobleman, was about the same time killed on the North River, exhibiting great intrepidity on the British side, and bestowing his last breath in encomiums on the undaunted courage displayed by the partners of his danger, and witnesses of his fall.

It is to be observed, that in the battle of the Brandywine, the provincial forces were met in the field, and with no very great advantage of situation. A victory was clearly obtained over them: but it was not of that final and decisive kind which the public had expected as the certain consequence of such a meeting. People rarely consider how much trivial and accidental circumstances render all things of this kind extremely uncertain, even with any superiority of troops, or goodness of generalship.

Motions  
of the  
armies.

Notwithstanding the victory of the king's troops, and the precipitate flight of the enemy, the royal army proceeded with caution and circumspection; and it did not seem unnecessary; for the enemy did not seem disheartened; and Mr. Washington exerted himself with ability and diligence to repair his defeat. The army was posted in the neighbourhood of Concord and Ashtown, whilst a detachment was sent to seize on Wilmington which was made a receptacle for the sick and wounded. Upon a movement towards Goshen, the General received intelligence upon his march, that the enemy had quitted Philadelphia, and were advanced upon the Lancaster road, a few miles above that place. Upon this advice, he took such effectual measures for bringing them to an immediate engagement, that nothing but the event which followed could have frustrated his design. An excessive fall of rain, which overtook both armies upon their march, and which continued without any intermission for 24 hours,



hours, rendered both parties equally and totally incapable of action.

1777.

In the course of a number of movements on both sides, which took place for some days after, and in which every measure was ineffectually used, to involve the enemy in similar circumstances to those which they had so lately and with such loss escaped, intelligence having been received, that General Wayne, with 1500 men, was lying in the woods upon some scheme of enterprize, in the rear, and at no great distance from the left wing of the army, Major-General Grey was detached at night, with 2 regiments, and a body of light infantry, to surprize that corps. That General conducted the enterprize with equal ability and success; and, perhaps, in emulation of a remarkable action of the late war in Germany, took effectual measures that a single shot should not be fired in the course of the expedition, and that the execution should only be done by the point of the bayonet. In the prosecution of this design, the enemy's out posts and pickets were compleatly surprized and forced without noise, about one in the morning, and the troops being guided by the light of their fires, rushed in upon the encampment, where a severe and silent execution took place, about 300 being killed or wounded upon the spot, and a number of prisoners taken; the remainder escaping by the darkness of the night, and some prudent dispositions made by the officer who commanded the Americans, with the loss of the greater part of their baggage, arms, and stores. The victors, in this brisk action, lost only a captain of light infantry and three private men, with about the same number wounded.

Major-General Grey defeats G. Wayne.

Sep. 20.

The General finding that the enemy could not by any means be brought to action, and that they were evidently abandoning even the protection of the capital, rather than hazard that final decision, made

Royal army advance to German Town.

1777. such movements and took such positions as gave him the command of the Schuylkill, and enabled him, at length, to pass the army over that river without opposition. There being nothing now to impede his progress, the army advanced to German Town, and Lord Cornwallis, on the next morning took possession of Philadelphia. Thus was the rich and flourishing city of Philadelphia, the capital late of the most rising colony, and attended with the most singular circumstances, that history can give any example of, and the seat of that General Congress of delegates, who dispensed laws and government to the Continent of North America; reduced without opposition, and consequently without damage.

L. Corn-  
wallis  
takes  
possession  
of Phila-  
delphia.

Some of  
the prin-  
cipal in-  
habitants  
sent pri-  
soners to  
Virginia

This circumstance was more fortunate than had been expected; for it was even spoken of by themselves as a settled and fixed determination, to destroy the city, whenever it was found that it could be no longer protected, rather than suffer it to become a place of arms, and the centre of operation to the British fleets and armies. A number of the Quakers, and some other of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, to the amount of more than twenty, who had been justly considered as strongly attached to the royal cause, and violently inimical to the present ruling powers, had been taken into custody upon the immediate danger of an invasion. These gentlemen positively refused to give any security in writing, or even verbal attestation, of attachment, submission, or allegiance, to the present government, or of not holding a correspondence with those whom they represented as enemies. They even refused to confine themselves to their respective dwelling-houses, and boldly appealing to the laws for redress and security to their persons, strongly reproached those, who under the pretence of asserting and protecting the liberties of the subject, had involved the whole continent in civil war and contention, and who thus, at the same time, in the

the most arbitrary and tyrannical manner, deprived him of his personal liberty, and of every security which he derived from the laws. They were answered, that the laws themselves, and all other considerations must give way to the public safety, in cases of great and imminent danger; that there was no new or particular hardship in the present measure, which was justified by the practice of all states in similar circumstances; that in England, in its highest state of freedom, and under its happiest governments, the Habeas Corpus law was suspended in cases of internal commotion, or the apprehension of foreign invasion; that there, suspicion only was a sufficient ground for securing the person of the subject, without regard to rank, quality, or any security he might propose to give for his peaceable demeanor; but that their situation was much more favourable to themselves, if their incorrigible obstinacy, their dangerous designs against the state, and their mortal enmity to the government, had not precluded them from its benefit; they were not retained in prison merely upon suspicion, however strong and well founded that was, and however justifiable the measure would be upon that ground only; it was immediately in their power to return in the most unrestrained liberty to their habitations, only by complying with that very moderate test of their principles and conduct which was required, and shewing that obedience to government, and good disposition to the state, which every member of society owed to the community to which he belonged, as a return for the protection which he received. But that as they denied all allegiance to the state, they of course disclaimed its protection, and forfeited all the privileges of citizen-ship; whilst by refusing every security for their peaceable demeanor, they could only be considered as its most dangerous and determined enemies. As these gentlemen were unconquerable in their resolution not to submit to the proposed test, they were all sent off to Staunton, in Virginia,

as

1777.



1777.  


as a place of security, upon the approach of the royal army.

As soon as Lord Howe had received intelligence of the success at the Brandywine, and the determined progress of the army to Philadelphia, he took the most speedy and effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round the Delaware, not only to be at hand to concur in the active operations of the campaign, but to supply the army with those provisions, stores, and necessaries, which he knew, must by that time have been indispensably necessary. The voyage was intricate, tedious, and dangerous; and nothing less than the superior skill and ability which was exerted, in the conduct and management of so great a number of ships, could have prevented the loss from being considerable. As the passage to Philadelphia, was yet impracticable, the fleet drew up and anchored along the western or Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle.

Attack  
on the  
new bat-  
teries at  
Philadel-  
phia.

When the British troops had taken possession of Philadelphia, their first object was the erecting of batteries to command the river, as well to prevent the intercourse of the American vessels between their upper and lower posts, as to protect the city from any insult by water. The necessity of this measure became obvious, almost as soon as it was determined upon. The very day after the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by another frigate, with some smaller vessels, they commenced, and supported for some hours, a very heavy cannonade, both upon the batteries and the town. They did not, however, display the judgement which their knowledge of the river might be supposed to afford. Upon the falling of the tide the Delaware grounded so effectually that she could not be got off, which  
being

being soon perceived by the grenadiers, they brought their battalion field pieces to play upon her with so true a direction and excellent effect, that the Delaware being obliged to strike her colours, was boarded and taken by an officer and detachment of that corps. Brigadier General Cleveland immediately profited of the effect of the battalion guns, by directing the whole fire of the batteries to the other vessels, which were compelled to retire, with the loss of a schooner which was driven ashore.

1777.

*Delaware*  
Frigate  
taken.

The Americans had at vast expence, and with wonderful labour and industry, constructed great and numerous works, to render the passage of the Delaware up to Philadelphia impracticable. In the prosecution of this design, they had erected works and batteries upon a flat, low, marshy island, or rather a bank of mud and sand, which had been accumulated in the Delaware, near the junction of the Schuylkill, and which from its nature was called Mud, but from these defences Fort-Island. On the opposite shore of New-Jersey, at a place called Red-Bank, they had also constructed a fort or redoubt, well covered with heavy artillery. In the deep navigable channel, between, or under the cover of these batteries, they had sunk several ranges of frames or machines, to which, from a resemblance in the construction, they had given the appellation of chevaux de frize, being composed of transverse beams, firmly united, pointing in various directions, and strongly headed with iron. These were of such a weight and strength, and sunk in such a depth of water, as rendered them equally difficult to be weighed or cut through, and destructive to any ship which had the misfortune of striking against them. No attempt for raising them, or for opening the channel in any manner, could, however, be made, until the command of the shores on both sides was fully obtained.

The passage of the Delaware rendered impracticable.

About

1777.

About three miles lower down the river, they had sunk other ranges of these machines, and were constructing for their protection some considerable and extensive works, which, though not yet finished, were in such forwardness as to be provided with artillery, and to command their object, at a place on the Jersey side called Billings Point. These works and machines were further supported by several gallies mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed vessels and small craft of various kinds, and some fire ships. In a word, the Delaware seemed to teem with every defensive preparation, which could render the hostile operations and movements of a fleet, in the confined and uncertain navigation of a river, extremely dangerous.

Success-  
ful expe-  
dition to  
Billings  
Fort.

Upon the representation of Captain Hammond, of the Roebuck, who with some other ships of war had arrived in the Delaware before Lord Howe, the General detached two regiments, consisting of three battalions, under Colonel Stirling, to dislodge the enemy from Billingsfort. The detachment having crossed the river from Chester, where the ships lay, performed the service effectually without loss or opposition. The enemy, without waiting to be attacked, as soon as they heard of their approach, immediately spiked their artillery, set fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with the greatest precipitation. The detachment waited to destroy, or to render unserviceable, those parts of the works which fronted the river. The success, with the spirit and perseverance exhibited by the officers and crews of the ships under his command, enabled Captain Hammond, through great difficulties, and a vigorous opposition from the marine force of the enemy, to carry the principal object of the expedition into effect, by cutting away and weighing up so much of the chevaux de frise, as opened a narrow and difficult passage for ships through this lower barrier.

Upon

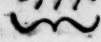


Upon the return of the detachment from Jersey, 1777.  
 another regiment was sent to meet them at Chester, in order that they might altogether form a sufficient escort for a large convoy of provisions to the camp. The army still lay at German Town, a very long and considerable village, about half a dozen miles from Philadelphia, and which, stretching on both sides of the great road to the northward, forms a continued street of two miles in length. The line of encampment passed German Town at right angles about the centre, the left wing extending on the west from the town to the Schuylkill. That wing was covered in front, by the mounted and dismounted German chasseurs; a battalion of light infantry, and the Queen's American rangers, were in the front of the right, and the 40th regiment, with another battalion of light infantry, were posted at the head of the village. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers; and we have already seen, that three regiments had been detached on the side of Chester.

The enemy were encamped at Skippach Creek, about 16 miles from German Town. They had received some reinforcements, and they were not ignorant that the royal army was weakened by the detachments it had made to Philadelphia and Chester. These circumstances induced an enterprize, little expected, and seemingly as little suited, to the general caution, and to the supposed genius and disposition of Washington. Instead of shunning, as usual, every thing that might lead to an action, the American army quitted its strong post at Skippach Creek at six in the evening, and marched all night to surprize and attack the royal army in its camp at German Town.

Royal  
 army sur-  
 prized at  
 German  
 Town.

At three o'clock in the morning, their approach was discovered by the patroles, and the army was immediately called to arms. They began their  
 attack

1777.  attack upon the 40th regiment, and the battalion of light infantry by which it was accompanied. These corps, after a vigorous resistance, being at length overpowered by numbers, were pressed and pursued into the village. In this exigence, a measure upon which much of the future fortune of the day depended, was instantly and happily adopted by Lieutenant Colonel Musgrave, who threw himself with six companies of the 40th regiment into a large and strong stone house, which lay full in the front of the enemy.

By this measure they were checked in their forward hope and design of gaining complete and immediate possession of that long town, which among other great and obvious advantages, would have enabled them effectually to separate the right and left wings of the royal army. The Colonel and his brave party, surrounded by a whole brigade, and attacked on every side with great resolution, defended the house with the most undaunted courage; and though the enemy at length brought cannon up to the assault, he still maintained his post with equal intrepidity, pouring a dreadful and unceasing fire through the windows, until affairs had taken such a turn as afforded him relief.

This was accomplished by Major-General Grey, who bringing the front of a great part of the left wing by a timely movement to the village, led on three battalions of the 3d brigade, who attacked the enemy with vigour, and were as bravely supported and seconded, by Brigadier-General Agnew, at the head of the 4th brigade. The engagement was now for some time very warm; but the enemy being attacked on the opposite side of the village by two regiments of the right wing, were thrown into total disorder, and driven out of the town with considerable slaughter.

In

In the mean time, the light infantry and pickets of the right wing, supported by the 4th, and seconded by the 49th regiment, were warmly engaged with the enemy's left; but General Grey, after forcing their troops in the village, having passed it, and bringing the left wing forward, they immediately retired on all sides. The enemy was pursued for some miles; but the country being woody, strong, and enclosed, the pursuit was attended with so little effect, that they carried their cannon clear off. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a squadron of light-horse from Philadelphia, towards the close of the engagement, and joined in the pursuit; whilst three battalions of grenadiers from the same place, who had run themselves out of breath in the ardour of succouring their fellows, were too late to come in for any share of the action.

It appears that the morning was exceedingly foggy, to which the Americans (who had considerable success in the beginning of the action) attribute their not improving the advantages they at first gained, in the manner which they would otherwise have done. For they were not only, as they assert, through this circumstance, prevented from observing the new situation of the enemy, by which the latter had time to recover from the effect of the first impression they had made on them; but the different bodies of their own army were kept in ignorance of each others movements and success, and were consequently incapable of acting in concert. It is even said, that some of their parties, in the thickness of the fog, had poured their fire upon each other, under a blind mistake on both sides of being engaged with the enemy. Washington paid great compliments to the right wing for its good behaviour, of which he had been a witness, but he left the conduct of the left, at least, doubtful, by saying that he had not yet received sufficient information to found any opinion on.

K k k

The



1777.

Losses on  
both sides

The loss of the royal army in this action, including the wounded and a few prisoners, rather exceeded that at the Brandywine, the whole amounting to 535; but the proportion of the slain was still smaller than in that engagement, and scarcely exceeded 70. In this number were unhappily some very brave and distinguished officers; particularly Brigadier General Agnew, and Lieutenant Colonel Bird. The number of officers wounded was considerable. The Americans loss was estimated in the Gazette, at between 2 and 300 slain, 600 wounded, and above 400 prisoners. Among the slain was General Nash, and several other officers of all ranks; 54 officers were taken prisoners. In this action the Americans acted upon the offensive; and though repulsed with loss, shewed themselves a formidable adversary; capable of charging with resolution, and retreating with good order. The hope therefore entertained from the effect of any action with them as decisive, and likely to put a speedy termination to the war, was exceedingly abated.

Army re-  
moves to  
Philadel-  
phia.

The taking of Philadelphia was not attended with all the advantages expected from that conquest. The rebel army however straitened, still kept the field; and until the Delaware could be cleared, it was obvious that the army could not support itself in that town for the winter. Therefore, as the whole effect of the campaign depended upon that operation, about a fortnight after the battle, the King's army removed from German-Town to Philadelphia, as being a more convenient place for the reduction of Mud, or Fort Island, and for co-operating with the naval force in opening the navigation of the river. The enemy had returned after the action of German-Town, to their old Camp at Skippach Creek, where they still continued.

Measures being concerted between the General and Admiral for removing the obstructions of the  
river

river, the former ordered batteries to be erected on the western shore, or Pennsylvania side, in hopes of assisting in dislodging the enemy from Mud-Island, the difficulty of access to which, was found to render its reduction a much more tedious and difficult operation than had been expected. He also detached a strong body of Hessians across the river at Cooper's Ferry, opposite the town, who were to march down and force the redoubt of Red Bank, whilst the ships, and the batteries on the other side, were to carry on their attacks against Mud Island and the enemy's marine force. The Hessian detachment was led by Colonel Donop, (who had gained great reputation in various actions of this war) and consisted besides of light infantry and Chasseurs, of three battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment of Mirbach. The American force at Red Bank was estimated at about 800 men.

1777.

Unsuccessful attack on the Delaware.

Though nothing could exceed the good disposition made for these several attacks, nor the exertions of vigour and courage displayed both by land and naval force on their different elements, yet this enterprize not only failed of success, but was in every respect unfortunate. Colonel Donop attacked the enemy's entrenchments with the utmost gallantry, and after a very sharp action, succeeded in carrying an extensive out-work; but he found the enemy better covered in the body of the redoubt, and the defence more vigorous than he expected. The brave Colonel was there mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Some of his best officers were killed or disabled, and the Hessians after a desperate engagement, were repulsed with great loss. Colonel Mingerode, the next in command, being likewise dangerously wounded, the detachment was brought off by Lieutenant-Colonel Linning, having suffered much in the approach and retreat from the assault by the fire of the enemy's galleys and floating batteries. The loss of the Hessians, whether as to

Hessians repulsed with great loss at Red Bank.

Oct. 22.

Colonel Donop killed.

private

1777. private men or officers, was never particularly authenticated; it was however, known to be very considerable: probably not less than four or five hundred men.

The men of war and frigates destined for the attack, having made their way with difficulty through the lower barrier, took every possible disposition that the nature and situation of the river would admit for the destruction of the upper works and defences, where they commenced their assault, at the same time that Colonel Donop was engaged at Red Bank. Fortune was not more favourable here than ashore. The ships could not bring their fire to bear with any great effect upon their works. The extraordinary obstruction with which the enemy had interrupted the free course of the river, had even effected its bed, and wrought some alteration in its known and natural channel. By this means, the *Augusta* man of war and *Merlin* sloop, were grounded so fast at some distance from the *chevaux-de-frize*, that there was no possibility of getting them off. In this situation, though the skill and courage of the officers and crews of the several vessels, prevented the effect of four fire ships which the enemy had sent to destroy the *Augusta*, she unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which placed the others under the necessity of retiring with the utmost expedition, to get beyond the effect of the explosion. In these urgent and difficult circumstances, the *Merlin* was hastily evacuated, and laid in a train of destruction, and the greater part of the officers and crew of the *Augusta* saved; but the second Lieutenant, Chaplain, and gunner, with no inconsiderable number of the common men, unhappily perished.

New and  
effectual  
measures  
taken.

The ill success of this enterprize by no means damped the resolution of the commanders, in prosecution of the absolutely necessary work of opening



ing the navigation of the Delaware. New ground was taken, new measures adopted, and every preparation made that could insure success in the design. Nor were the enemy idle on their side. They well understood the great consequence it was of to them to keep the naval force separated from the army, and to render the communication between them tedious and difficult. They accordingly left nothing undone to strengthen their defences.

The officers and seamen of the fleet were incessantly employed in conveying heavy artillery, provisions and stores, up the river, by a difficult channel on the west side, to a small morassy island, where they erected batteries, which greatly incommoded the enemy's works on Mud Island. Every thing being prepared for an attack, the Isis and Somerset men of war, passed up the east channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in the front; several frigates drew up against a fort newly erected on the Jersey side, near Manto Creek, which was so situated as to flank the men of war in their station; and two armed vessels, mounted 24 pounders, successfully made their way through the narrow channel on the western side at the back of Hogg Island; a matter of the greatest importance with respect to the success of the attack, as these two vessels, in concert with the batteries newly erected in province Island, enfiladed the principal works which the enemy had erected on Mud-Island.

A heavy fire was supported on both sides. At length the vigorous attack made by the Isis in front, and by the two armed vessels, and the batteries in other quarters, so overpowered the enemy in the fort and works on Mud-Island, that towards evening their artillery was entirely silenced. And they perceiving that measures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, and being also sensible

1777

Nov. 15.

Mud Island, &amp; Red Bank taken.

1777.

sensible that, in the present state of things, they were not defensible, they set fire to every thing that was capable of receiving it, and abandoning the place in the night.

The loss of the enemy in men was said to be very considerable; that of the fleet, was more trifling than could have been supposed. Their artillery and some stores were taken at Mud Island. In two days after, Lord Cornwallis passed over with a detachment from Chester to Billing's Fort, where he was joined by a body of forces just arrived from New York. They proceeded all together to Red Bank, which the enemy abandoned at their approach, leaving their artillery with a considerable quantity of cannon-ball and stores behind them. The works were demolished.

Ameri-  
cans burn  
their  
vessels.

The enemy's shipping having now lost all protection on their side of the river, several of their galleys and other armed vessels took the advantage of a favourable night, to pass the batteries of Philadelphia, and escape to places of security farther up. The discovery of this transaction occasioned the sending an officer with a party of seamen to man the Delaware frigate lately taken, and lying at Philadelphia, and the taking of such other measures, as rendered the escaping of the remainder impracticable. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and set fire to their vessels; which were all consumed to the amount of seventeen of different sorts, including the two floating batteries, and fire-ships. With all these advantages, the season of the year, and other impediments, rendered the clearing of the river, in any considerable degree, impracticable; so that the making or discovering of such a channel, as might admit the passage of transports and vessels of easy burden with provisions and necessaries for the use of the army at Philadelphia, was all that could be obtained at present.

General

General Washington being reinforced by 4000 men from the northern army, advanced within 14 miles of Philadelphia, to a place called White Marsh, where he encamped in a very strong position, with his right to the Wissahichon Creek, and the front partly covered by Sandy Run. As this movement seemed to indicate a disposition to adventure, Gen. Howe was not without hopes, that the late reinforcement would encourage them to hazard a battle for the recovery of Philadelphia. If such was their intention, he was determined that they should not cool in it, for want of an opportunity of bringing it into action; or if they still adhered to their usual system of caution and defence, it was still reasonably to be hoped that upon a close inspection of their situation, some part of their camp would be found so vulnerable as to admit of a successful impression.

Upon these grounds the general marched the army from Philadelphia on the 4th of December at night, and took post at Chesnut Hill, in the front of the enemy's right on the next morning. Finding that their right afforded no opening for an attack, he changed his ground before day on the 7th, and took a new position opposite to their centre and left. Some skirmishes happened in which the enemy were constantly defeated, and their flying parties pursued home almost to their works. The General at length, after continuing above three days constantly in their sight, advancing within a mile of their lines, and examining their works with the closest attention, finding that nothing could provoke or entice them to action, and that their camp was in every part inaccessible, gave up the prosecution of a design which was evidently fruitless. The army also suffered greatly from the severity of the weather, both officers and soldiers being totally destitute of tents and field equipage.

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1777.

G. Howe  
returns to  
Philadel-  
phia.

The General accordingly began his march to Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 8th, in full view of the enemy, without being pursued, or in the smallest degree incommoded on his return. As the season was now too far advanced, to admit of any other attention than what related to the accommodation of the army, a grand detachment was sent out to procure forage for the winter, which was successfully performed. In the mean time Washington removed his camp from White Marsh to Valley Forge, upon the Schuylkill, about 15 or 16 miles from Philadelphia, in a very strong and consequently secure position. Nothing could afford a stronger proof, to whoever considers the nature and disposition of those people, of the unbounded influence on the minds both of his officers and men which that General possessed, than his being able not only to keep them together, but to submit to the inconveniences and distresses incident to living in a hutted camp, during the severe winter of that climate, and where all his supplies of provision and stores must come from a great distance, at much expence and no small hazard. It was also a proof with many others, of the general strong disposition of America, to suffer all things rather than submit to force.

Such was the issue of the campaign upon the Delaware. A campaign which affords much room for the most serious reflection. The British arms were crowned with the most brilliant success. Two very considerable victories were obtained. In all lesser actions, bating the affair at Red-Bank, they were equally triumphant. Yet with all this tide of success, all the fruit derived from our victories at the close of the campaign, amounted to no more than simply a good winter lodging for our army in the city of Philadelphia; whilst the troops possessed no more of the adjacent country than what they immediately commanded with their arms. It was still

still more discouraging, that the enemy had given repeated proofs, that however he might engage them when he thought it to his advantage, it was impossible for the royal army to bring him to action against his consent. This gave occasion to much uneasiness in England; where the news of the first successes had caused the greatest exultation, which was now succeeded with very gloomy reflections on the peculiar and fatal circumstances, which, from the nature of the country, and other co-operating causes, had distinguished this war, from all others in which we had ever been concerned; and in which victory and defeat were nearly productive of the same consequences.

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## CHAP. XV.

*Canada. Conduct of the northern expedition committed to General Burgoyne. Preparation made by General Carleton. Line of conduct pursued by him upon the new arrangement. Different opinions upon the utility and propriety of employing the Savages. State of the force under the command of General Burgoyne. Canadians obliged to contribute largely to the service. Expedition under Colonel St. Leger. War feast, and speech to the Indians at the river Bouquet. Manifesto. Royal army invests Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Council of war held, and the forts abandoned by the Americans. Boom and Bridge cut through. Pursuit by land and water. Americans set fire to, and abandon their works. Rear of the Americans overtaken by General Frazer near Hubberton. Colonel Francis defeated and killed. General St. Clair, with the remains of the army take to the woods; and arrive at length at Fort Edward. Enemy bravely repulsed by Colonel Hill, and the 9th regiment, who are obliged to engage under a vast superiority of force. Americans set fire to, and abandon Fort Anne. Extraordinary difficulties encountered by the royal army in the march to Fort Edward. American army retires to Saratoga.*

1777.

**W**E now turn from exemplifying victory without equivalent advantage in one quarter, to behold the most mischievous consequences of defeat in another. The war upon the side of Canada and the lake, was committed to the charge of Lieutenant General Burgoyne; an officer whose ability was unquestioned, and whose spirit of enterprize, and thirst for military glory, however rivalled, could not possibly be exceeded.

This appointment, however palliated or justified, by the propriety or supposed necessity of the Governor's constant residence in his province, could not fail of being sensibly felt, and could scarcely be supposed not to give umbrage, to General Carleton, to whose abilities, and resolution, this nation in general acknowledged, and the world attributed, the preservation of Canada. It was said, that his powers had been diminished in proportion to the greatness of his services. His military command extend-



1777.  


extended before to every part of America, whither he might find it fitting to conduct the army under his direction. It was now suddenly restrained to the narrow limits of his own province. He had, said his friends, in the preceding campaign, not only driven the enemy out of Canada; but a great naval armament had been formed, the enemy's force on Lake Champlain destroyed, and Crown-point recovered, under his authority. The lateness of the season only, prevented him from attacking Ticonderoga, and immediately prosecuting the war to the Southward. He had, during the winter, exerted his usual industry, and applied his military skill and judgment, in the forwarding of every preparation, which might conduce to the success of the design in the ensuing campaign. At the opening of the communication with England, instead of the reinforcement which he had required and expected for the completion of his purpose, he received an arrangement totally new, which as it had been framed without any reference to his judgment, or attention to his approbation, left nothing to his discretion or opinion in the execution. Two expeditions were to be formed, in each of which, the number and nature of the troops to be employed, the particular service of each corps, with its subdivisions and the smallest detachment to be made from it, had been minutely and precisely specified by the minister. He was not even consulted as to the number and nature of the troops which were to remain in his hands for the defence or security of Canada. In a word, the army which he had lately commanded was taken out of his, and placed in other hands, and officers who lately acted under his direction, were by a detraction from his authority, virtually placed in independent commands; for their instructions to put themselves under the orders of Sir William Howe, seemed little more than a mockery, as that General had informed Sir Guy Carleton, that the concerted operations of the campaign

1777. campaign on his side, would lead him to such a distance, as to render any communication of that nature impracticable.

That the governor felt and understood his arrangement and these appointments in the manner we have related from the complaints of his friends in England, seems evident from the immediate resignation of his government which then took place; but as the notification, the appointment of another, and the passage of his successor from Europe, were all works of time, he was still, however ungrateful the task, obliged to continue in the exercise of his office, during a longer period than that of which we are treating.

Under these circumstances, and in this trying and difficult situation, he endeavoured to shew that resentment could not warp him from his duty, and he applied himself with the same diligence and energy, to forward by every possible means, and to support in all its parts the expedition, as if the arrangement was entirely his own. This conduct, however praise-worthy, was not less necessary, from the peculiar nature of the service which was to be performed; a service exceedingly complicated in the arrangement, uncommonly numerous in the parts; and many unusual in practice. It will not be difficult to conceive, how effectually negligence, dislike, obstinacy, or even a colourable and rational difference of opinion in some disputable points, might frustrate all the hopes founded upon such a system.

Nothing of this sort intervened, to damp the spirit or to defeat the success of the expedition. The preparations were carried on with vigour.

We have before taken notice, that the ministers, and more particularly the noble lord at the head of the  
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the American department, were not only particularly interested in the event, but had founded the most sanguine hopes upon the success of this expedition. Nothing was accordingly left undone on their side, which, in proportion to the number of regular troops that could be spared for that particular service, might conduce to give efficacy to their operations. Besides, Canada it was hoped would supply a warlike though undisciplined militia, well calculated for, and acquainted with, the peculiar nature of the service and country. 1777.

To strengthen and increase this irregular, but necessary aid, arms and accoutrements were amply provided, to supply those numerous loyalists, who were expected to join the royal army as soon as it approached or penetrated the frontiers of the adjacent provinces. As a powerful artillery is considered to be the great and effective arm in an American war, where a numerous and undisciplined enemy is to be continually attacked in difficult posts, and driven out of woods and fastnesses, to this part of the service was particularly attended to, and the brass train that was sent out upon this expedition, was perhaps the finest, and probably the most excellently supplied as to officers and private men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of any army, which did not far exceed the present in number.

Besides these forces, several nations of savages had been induced to come into the field. This measure was defended upon the supposed necessity of the case; as if from their character it was presumed they could not lie still, and if not engaged in the King's service, would have joined the Americans. Whatever advantages were hoped from them, General Carleton did not in the preceding year make much use of them; but civilly dismissed them at the close of the campaign, on a promise of appearing



1777.            pearing in the next if required. There has been a good deal of discussion, which we want materials to settle, how far he approved of their employment at all. The friends of ministry said, that he had recommended and forwarded the measure. Others said, that partly from humanity, partly from his forming a just estimate of their services, and knowing by experience the extent of their powers and ability in war, he was unwilling to use them, knowing that they were capricious, inconstant, and intractable. That as their ideas of war and of courage were totally different from those of civilized nations, so, notwithstanding their ferocity of character, and the incredible specimens of passive valour which they sometimes exhibited in cases adapted to their own opinions, they not only abhorred, but dreaded, whatever is considered as fair and generous service among Europeans, wherein the contending parties bravely seek and are included in one common danger, trusting only for success to their superior skill and courage. That their object and design in all wars, was not to fight, but to murder; not to conquer, but to destroy. In a word, that their service was uncertain, their rapacity insatiate, their faith ever doubtful, and their actions cruel and barbarous.

Whatever his reasons were for not employing them in a more early and effectual manner, if it were in his power to do it, as early and effectually as was imagined, this conduct was far from being generally approved of at home. Those who were particularly warm in their zeal against the colonies, began somewhat to forget their natural humanity in their anger. They insisted, that every appearance of lenity in such circumstances was actual cruelty in the effect, by acting as an incentive to disobedience, and increasing the objects of punishment. That on the contrary, partial severity was general mercy; as timely exertions of justice, and strict inflictions of

of punishment, were at all times the sure means of preventing crimes. That the only method of speedily crushing the rebellion, was to render the situation of the actors in it so intolerable, that a cessation from danger, and the blessings of repose, should become the only objects of their contemplation and hope. That the means were but little to be attended to, when they led to the accomplishment of so great and happy a purpose, as the destruction of rebellion, and the restoration of order and legal government.

And that in all convulsions of states, the innocent were too frequently involved in the calamities which were intended or wished to be confined entirely to the guilty; but such was the lot and condition of mankind, that this evil, however deplored, could not in numberless instances be avoided or prevented. This doctrine was supported by the avowed friends of government, whether out of office, or in the subordinate departments of the state; it was also generally supposed to be consonant to the opinions of the ministers, and that General Carleton's scruples or niceties upon this point were by no means acceptable.

However this was, in the present arrangement, the aid of the savages was considered as a principal member of that force which was destined to the prosecution of the northern war, and the Governor of Canada was accordingly enjoined to use his utmost weight and influence, in bringing the Indian nations forward in support of the expedition. His zeal was as active in fulfilling this duty, as it was in every other which appertained to the present service. Nor was his success disproportioned to his zeal. Whether it proceeded from the Governor's influence with the Indians, their avidity to seize the presents which were now liberally distributed amongst them, from their own innate thirst for war and

The English employ the savages.

1777.  


and plunder, or more probably, from the joint operation of all these causes, their remote as well as near nations poured forth their warriors in such abundance, that he became at length apprehensive, that their numbers might render them an incumbrance rather than an aid to the army.

The regular force allotted to the expedition conducted by General Burgoyne, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to 7173 men, exclusive of the artillery corps. Of these, the German Corps (consisting mostly of Brunswickers) amounted to 3217. The force required by that General in the proposals which he laid before the Minister, consisted of 8000 regulars, rank and file, besides the artillery, a corps of Watermen, 2000 Canadians, including hachetmen, and other Workmen, with a thousand, or more, savages. We have no certain information what numbers of these auxiliaries were in actual service upon the expedition.

Canada was largely rated, and its inhabitants must have sensibly felt the proportion which they were allotted to contribute towards this service. In the proposals laid before the Minister, besides the militia and various species of workmen supposed necessary to be immediately attached to the army, and to accompany it on the expedition, chains of their militia, patrols, and posts, were expected to occupy the Woods in the frontiers on the rear of the army, partly to intercept the communication between the enemy and the ill affected in Canada, partly to prevent desertion and to procure intelligence, and for various other duties necessary towards keeping the country in quiet. Another great call upon them was for workmen to complete the fortifications at Sorel, St. John's, Chamblee and Isle au Noix, which it was supposed would amount to 2000 men. A still greater call upon the Canadians, and the more grievous, as it was at their  
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feed sowing season, was for the transport of all the provisions, artillery, stores, and baggage of the army, from the different repositories to the water, and afterwards at the carrying places, besides the corvees for making the roads. It was estimated that this service would for some time before, and at the opening of the campaign, require no less than 2000 men, besides a very large proportion of horses and carts. 1777.

General Burgoyne was seconded by able and excellent officers. Of these, Major-General Phillips of the artillery, who had gained such distinguished renown by his conduct in that service during the late war in Germany, deserves to be particularly mentioned. He was likewise assisted by the Brigadier-Generals, Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all distinguished officers, with the Brunswick Major-General Baron Reidesfel, and Brigadier-General Specht. The army was, in every respect, in the best condition that could possibly be expected or wished, the troops being in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The detachment on the expedition to the Mohawk River under Colonel St. Leger, did not probably exceed seven or eight hundred men, consisting of 200 drawn from the 8th and 34th regiments, a regiment of New-Yorkers, lately raised by, and under the command of, Sir John Johnson, being mostly emigrants from his own country, adjoining to the intended scene of action, with some Hanau Chasseurs, a company of Canadians, and another of newly raised rangers. These were joined by a strong body of savages, in part conducted, or if it may be termed officered, by a number of British and Americans. The regular force left in Canada, including the Highland emigrants under that denomination, amounted to about 3700 men.

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The army being at length arrived and encamped at the River Bouquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain, and at no very great distance to the northward of Crown Point, General Burgoyne, there met the Indians in congress, and afterwards, in compliance with the customs of those people, gave them a war feast. The speech which he made to the savages upon this occasion has been published. It was calculated in those powerful strains of elocution by which that gentleman is distinguished, to excite their ardour in the common cause, and at the same time to repress their barbarity. For this purpose he took pains in explaining to them the distinction, between a war carried on against a common enemy, in which the whole country and people were hostile, and the present, in which good and faithful subjects were largely, and of necessity, intermixed with rebels and traitors. Upon this principle he laid down several injunctions for the government of their conduct, particularly, that they should only kill those who were opposed to them in arms; that old men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they should only scalp those whom they had slain in fair opposition; but that under no pretence, subtlety, or colour of prevarication, they should scalp the wounded, or even dying; much less kill prisoners in that condition, by way of evading the injunction. And they were promised a compensation for prisoners, but informed that they should be called to account for scalps. These endeavours did in some measure mitigate, but were not of force wholly to restrain their ferocity, of which some unhappy instances afterwards appeared.

The General soon after dispersed a manifesto, calculated to spread terror among the contumacious, and particularly to revive in their minds every latent impression of fear derived from knowledge or information

mation of the cruel operations of the savages, whose numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose to their prey, described with uncommon energy. The force of that great power, which was now spread by sea and land, to embrace or to crush every part of America, was displayed in full, lofty, and expressive language. The rebellion with its effects, and the conduct of the present governors and governments, were charged with the highest colouring, and exhibited a most hideous picture, of unparalleled injustice, cruelty, persecution and tyranny. Encouragement and employment were assured to those, who with a disposition and ability suited to the purpose, should actually assist in redeeming their country from slavery, and in the re-establishment of legal government. Protection and security, clogged with conditions, restricted by circumstances, and rather imperfectly or inexplicitly expressed, were held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations. And all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who persevered in their hostility.

The army having made a short stay at Crown Point, for the establishment of magazines, an hospital, and other necessary services, proceeded, in concert with the naval armament, to invest Ticonderoga, which was the first object of their destination. Although the rash and ill conducted attempt made upon that place in the year 1758, with the consequent repulse and heavy loss sustained by the British army, rendered it at that time an object of general attention, it may not at this distance of time be wholly unnecessary to take some notice of its situation, as well as of its state of defence.

Ticonderoga lies on the western shore, and only a few miles to the northward from the commencement of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake

Account  
of Ticon-  
deroga.



1777. Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. Crown Point lies about a dozen miles farther north at the extremity of that inlet. The first of these places is situated on an angle of land, which is surrounded on three sides by water, and that covered by rocks. A great part of the fourth side was covered by a deep morass, and where that fails, the old French lines still continued as a defence on the north-west quarter. The Americans strengthened these lines with additional works and a block-house. They had other posts with works and blockhouses, on the left, towards Lake George. To the right of the French lines they had also two new block-houses with other works.

On the eastern shore of the inlet, and opposite to Ticonderoga, the Americans had taken still more pains in fortifying a high circular hill to which they gave the name of Mount Independence. On the summit of this, which is Tableland, they had erected a star fort, enclosing a large square of barracks, well fortified and supplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the west side projected into the water, was strongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchment well lined with heavy artillery. A battery about half way up the mount, sustained and covered these lower works.

The Americans, with their usual industry, had joined these two posts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This was, like many other of their performances, a great and most laborious work. The bridge was supported on 22 funken piers of very large timber, placed at nearly equal distances; the spaces between these were filled with separate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, strongly fastened together with chains and rivets, and as effectually attached to the funken pillars. On the Lake Champlain side of the bridge,  
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it was defended by a boom composed of very large pieces of timber, fastened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and half square. Thus not only a communication was maintained between these two posts, but all access by water from the northern side was totally cut off.

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It is to be observed, that as the inlet immediately after passing Ticonderoga, assumes a new form, suddenly widening to a considerable breadth, and becoming navigable to vessels of burden, so from thence it also holds the name of Champlain, although it is not properly a part of the lake. On the other hand, the southern gut from Lake George, besides being narrow, is also rendered unnavigable by shallows and falls; but on its arrival at Ticonderoga, it is joined by a great body of water on the eastern side, called, in this part, South River, but higher up towards its source, before the junction of the elder branch with the younger, which runs from South Bay, it is known under the appellation of Wood Creek. The confluence of these waters at Ticonderoga, forms a small bay to the southward of the bridge of communication, and the point of land formed by their junction, is composed of a mountain called Sugar Hill.

Notwithstanding the apparent strength of Ticonderoga from what we have hitherto seen, it is entirely overlooked, and its works effectually commanded by Sugar Hill. This circumstance occasioned a consultation among the Americans as to the fortifying of that Mount; but their works were already far too extensive for their powers of defence, and would require ten or twelve thousand men to be effectually manned. It was likewise hoped, that the difficulty of access to the Sugar Mount, and the savage inequality of its surface, would prevent the enemy from attempting to profit of its situation.

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It would be exceedingly difficult from the information before us, to form any authentic estimate of the number of Americans that were in the actual defence of these two posts. It appears by the commander in chief, General St. Clair's exculpatory letter to the congress, as well as by the resolutions of the council of war, which accompanies it, that his whole force, including 900 militia, who were to quit him in a few days, was only about 3000 men; that these were ill equipped, and worse armed; particularly in the article of bayonets, an arm so essential in the defence of lines, that they had not one to ten of their number. This account would seem not only satisfactory but conclusive, if it had not been contradicted by others. In a detail of the transactions of the campaign, transmitted by the war office of Massachusetts Bay to the American deputies in France, and for the conveyance of which a light ship was sent out on purpose, they state St. Clair's force at near 5000 men well equipped and armed. It is, however, to be observed, that they talk with great bitterness of that General's conduct, as he had done in his first letter to congress, with respect to the behaviour of two of their regiments: It may also be supposed, that in a statement of their affairs, intended to operate upon the sentiments and conduct of a court, from which they already received essential benefits, and looked forward to much greater, they would rather increase the weight of blame upon an unfortunate officer, than detract from the public opinion of their own conduct and power, by attributing weakness to their councils, or inefficacy to their arms.

As the royal army approached to the object of its destination, it advanced with equal caution and order on both sides of the lake, the naval force keeping its station in the centre, until the one had begun to enclose the enemy on the land side, and the frigates and gun-boats cast anchor just out of cannon

cannon shot from their works. Upon the near approach of the right wing on the Ticonderoga side, upon the 2d of July, the Americans immediately abandoned and set fire to their works, block-houses, and saw-mills, towards Lake George, and without sally, interruption, or the smallest motion of diversion, permitted Major General Phillips to take possession of the very advantageous post of Mount Hope, which besides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with that lake. The same supineness and total want of vigour appeared in every thing on their side, except in the keeping up of an ineffectual roar of cannon, which was so much contemned on the other as not to be once returned.

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In the mean while, the royal army proceeded with such expedition in the construction of its works, the bringing up of artillery, stores and provisions, and the establishment of its posts and communications, that by the 5th, matters were so far advanced, as to require little more time for completely investing the posts on both sides of the lake. Sugar Hill was also examined, and the advantages it presented were so important, though attended with infinite labour and difficulty, from the necessity of making a road to its top through very rough ground, and constructing a level there for a battery, that this arduous task was undertaken, and already far advanced towards its completion, through the spirit, judgment, and active industry of General Phillips.

In these circumstances, a hasty council was on that day held by the American Generals, to which their principal went, as he informs us, already predetermined as to his conduct. It was represented, that their whole effective numbers were not sufficient to man one half of the works; that as the whole must consequently be upon constant duty, it would be impossible for them to sustain the fatigue for any length

Ticonderoga evacuated by the American army.

1777. length of time; and that as the enemy's batteries were ready to open, and the place would be completely invested on all sides within 24 hours, nothing could save the troops, but an immediate evacuation of both posts. This determination was unanimously agreed to by the council, and the place was accordingly evacuated on that night.

However justly this representation of their condition and circumstances was founded, and however necessary the determination of the council was in the present state of their affairs, one apparently capital error on the side of the commanders, must strike every common observer. If their force was not sufficient for the defence of the works, why did they not form this resolution in time? Why did they not withdraw the troops, artillery, and stores, and demolish the works before the arrival of the enemy? Why did they want to be nearly surrounded, until their retreat was more ruinous than a surrender under any conditions that could be proposed, and little less destructive in the event, than if the works had been carried by storm?

These are questions that time and better information alone can answer, if ever they should clearly answer, in favour of the American Generals.

The baggage of the army, with such artillery, stores, and provisions, as the necessity of the time would permit, were embarked with a strong detachment on board, above 200 batteaux, and dispatched, under convoy of five armed gallies, up the south river, in their way to Skenesborough. The main army took its route by the way of Castletown, to reach the same place by land.

July 6th. The first light of the morning had no sooner discovered the flight of the enemy, than their main body was eagerly pursued by Brigadier General Frazer,

Frazer, at the head of his brigade, consisting of the light troops, grenadiers, and some other corps. Major General Reidesel was also ordered to join in the pursuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunswick troops, either to support the Brigadier, or to act separately, as occasion might require, or circumstances direct. The enemy left a prodigious artillery behind them, which with those taken or destroyed in the armed vessels at Skenesborough, amounted to no less than 128 pieces, of all sorts, serviceable and unserviceable. They also left some military stores of different sorts, and no inconsiderable stock of provisions in the forts.

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General Burgoyne conducted the pursuit by water in person. That bridge and those works, which the Americans had laboured hard for ten months to render impenetrable, were cut through in less time by the British seamen and artificers, than it would have cost them to have described their structure. In a word, they did their business with such speed and effect, that not only the gunboats, but the Royal George and Inflexible frigates, had passed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the vessels, and the pursuit up the river was supported with such vigour, that by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremost brigade of the gunboats, was closely engaged with the enemies gallies near Skenesborough Falls. In the mean time, three regiments which had been landed at South Bay, ascended and passed a mountain, with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. But their speedy flight prevented the execution of that design. Upon the approach of the frigates, the gallies, which were already overborne by the gun-boats, lost all spirit; two of them were accordingly taken, and three blown up. The rebels now giving way to their despair, set fire to their works, stockaded forts, mills, and batteaux, after which they escaped as well

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as they could up the Wood Creek. This stroke seemed to complete the ruin of their ill-fated army, for the batteaux were deeply loaded, besides their baggage, with ammunition, stores, and provisions; so that they were now left naked in the woods, destitute of provision, and without any other means of defence, than what they derived from the arms in their hands.

Confusion and dismay, equally attended their main body on the left. The soldiers had lost all respect for, and confidence in their commanders. It would be fruitless to expect resolution, where no order nor command could be maintained.

Brigadier Frazer continued and supported the chase through the vehement heat of a burning day, with his usual activity and vigour. Having received intelligence that the enemy's rear were at no great distance, and were commanded by Colonel Francis, one of their best and bravest officers, his troops lay that night on their arms. He came up with the enemy, at five in the morning, whom he found strongly posted, with great advantage of ground, and a still greater superiority in point of number. As he expected every moment to be joined by General Reidesel, and was apprehensive that the enemy might escape if he delayed, he did not hesitate to begin the attack. The advantages which they possessed in ground and number, and perhaps more than both, the goodness of their commander, induced them to make a better stand than might have been expected from their condition in other respects.

As Frazer's corps was not supported near so soon as had been expected, the engagement was long; and though the light infantry and grenadiers gave several striking proofs of their superiority, affairs were still undecided and critical. The arrival of the Germans was at length decisive. The enemy
fled

fled on all sides, leaving their brave commander, with many other officers, and above 200 private men, dead on the field. About the same number, besides a Colonel, seven Captains, and ten Subalterns, were taken prisoners. Above 600 were supposed to be wounded, many of whom perished miserably in the woods. The principal loss on the side of the royal army, was that of Major Grant, a brave officer, who was killed. St. Clair, with the van of the American army, was at this time at Castletown, about six miles farther on. Upon the account of this disaster, and of the more fatal stroke at Skenesborough, and under the apprehension of being intercepted at Fort Anne, he struck on to the woods on his left, probably uncertain whether he should direct his course towards the New England provinces and the upper part of the Connecticut, or to Fort Edward.

1777.
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During these advantages on the left, Colonel Hill was detached with the 9th regiment from Skenesborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives who fled along the Wood Creek, whilst another part of the army was employed in carrying batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movement to dislodge the enemy from that post. In that expedition, the Colonel was attacked by a body of the enemy, consisting as he conceived, of six times the number of his detachment, who finding all their efforts in front totally ineffectual to force the judicious position which he had taken, attempted to surround the regiment. This alarming attempt, put him under a necessity of changing his ground in the heat of action.

—Nothing less than the most perfect discipline, supported by the coolest intrepidity, could have enabled the regiment to execute so critical a movement in the face of the enemy, and in such circumstances. It was however performed with such steadiness and effect, that the enemy, after an attack  
of

1777. of three hours, were so totally repulsed, and with such loss, that after setting fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmost precipitation towards Fort Edward, upon the Hudson's river.

The loss of the royal army, in all this service, and in so many different engagements, some of which were warm, and seemed liable to loss, was very small. The whole in killed and wounded, not much exceeding two hundred men.

Success  
of the  
northern  
army un-  
der Gen.  
Bur-  
goyne.

Such was the rapid torrent of success, which swept every thing away before the northern army in its outset. It is not to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their fortune, and deemed that and their prowess to be irresistible; if they regarded their enemy with the greatest contempt, and considered their own toils to be nearly at an end. Albany to be already in their hands; and the reduction of the northern provinces to be rather a matter of some time, than an arduous task full of difficulty and danger.

At home, the joy and exultation was extreme; not only at court, but with all those who hoped or wished the unqualified subjugation, and unconditional submission of the colonies. The loss in reputation was greater to the Americans, and capable of more fatal consequences, than even that of ground, of posts, of artillery, or of men. All the contemptuous and most degrading charges which had been made by their enemies, of their wanting the resolution and abilities of men, even in the defence of whatever was dear to them, were now repeated and believed. Those who still regarded them as men, and who had not yet lost all affection to them as brethren; who also retained hopes that a happy reconciliation upon constitutional principles, without sacrificing the dignity or the just authority of government on the one side, or a dereliction of the rights of freemen on the other, was not even now impos-



impossible, notwithstanding their favourable dispositions in general, could not help feeling upon this occasion, that the Americans sunk not a little in their estimation. It was not difficult to diffuse an opinion, that the war in effect was over; and that any further resistance, would serve only to render the terms of their submission the worse. Such were some of the immediate effects of the loss of those grand keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the lakes. 1777.

General Burgoyne continued for some days, with the army partly at Skenesborough, and partly spread in the adjoining country. They were under the necessity of waiting for the arrival of tents, baggage, and provisions. In the mean time, no labour was spared in opening roads by the way of Fort Anne, for advancing against the enemy. Equal industry was used in clearing the Wood Creek from the obstacles of fallen trees, sunken stones, and other impediments, which had been laid in the way by the enemy, in order to open a passage for batteaux, for the conveyance of artillery, stores, provisions, and camp equipage. Nor was less diligence used at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, provision vessels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. These were all laborious works, but the spirit of the army was at that time superior to toil or danger.

General Schuyler was at Fort Edward upon the Hudson's river, where he was endeavouring to collect the militia, and had been joined by St. Clair, with the wretched remains of his army, who had taken a round about march of seven days through the woods, in which, from the exceeding badness of the weather, with the want of covering, provisions, and all manner of necessaries, they had suffered the most extreme misery. Many others of the fugitives had also arrived; but so totally broken down, that they were nearly as destitute of arms, ammunition,

1777.  nition, and all the materials of war, as they were of vigour, hope, spirit, to use them with effect.

Although the direct distance from Fort Anne, where the batteaux navigation on Wood Creek determined, or even from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, was no greater, than what in England would be considered as a moderate ride of exercise, yet such is the savage face and impracticable nature of the country, and such were the artificial difficulties which the industry of the enemy had thrown in the way, that the progress of the army thither, was a work of much preparation, time, and labour. It will scarcely be believed in after times, and may now be received with difficulty in any other part of the world, that it cost an active and spirited army, without any enemy in force to impede its progress, not many fewer days in passing from one part to another of a country, than the distance, in a direct line, would have measured miles. Yet such, however extraordinary, is the fact. Besides that the country was a wilderness in almost every part of the passage, the enemy had cut large timber trees in such a manner, on both sides of the road, as to fall across and lengthways, with their branches interwoven; so that the troops had several layers of these frequently to remove, in places where they could not possibly take any other direction. The face of the country was likewise so broken with creeks and marshes, that in that short space, they had no less than forty bridges to construct, besides others to repair; and one of these was of log work, over a morass two miles in extent. All these toils and difficulties were encountered and overcome by the troops with their usual spirit and alacrity. The enemy were too weak, too much dispirited, and probably too much afraid of the Indians, to add very materially to these difficulties. Some skirmishing and firing there was, however on every day's march, in which, as usual, they constantly came off losers.

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It is true, that General Burgoyne might have adopted another route to Hudson's river, by which most of these particular difficulties would have been avoided. By returning down the South river to Ticonderoga, he might again have embarked the army on Lake George, and proceeded to the fort which takes its name, and lies at its head, from whence there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. To this it was objected, and probably with reason, that a retrograde motion in the height of victory, would tend greatly to abate that panic with which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed; that it would even cool the ardour, and check the animation of the troops, to call them off from the prosecution of their success, to a cold and spiritless voyage; and that their expedition would undoubtedly be checked by the resistance and delay which they must expect at Fort George; whereas when the garrison perceived that the army was marching in a direction, which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would undoubtedly consult their safety in time, by abandoning the post.

1777.  


The enemy abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga, at the approach of the royal army, which, from the impediments we have seen in the march, was not until the end of July. The enthusiasm of the army, as well as of the General, upon their arrival on the Hudson's river, which had been so long the object of their hopes and wishes, may be better conceived than described. As the enemy, by previously abandoning Fort George, and burning their vessels had left the lake entirely open, a great embarkation of provisions, stores, and necessaries was already arrived at that post from Ticonderoga. The army was accordingly fully and immediately employed, in transporting these articles, with artillery, batteaux, and such other matters as they judged necessary for the prosecution of their future measures, from Fort George to Hudson's river.



## C H A P. XVI.

*General terror excited by the loss of Ticonderoga, and the expected progress of the savages. New England governments notwithstanding shew no appearance of submission. Arnold sent with a reinforcement to the northern army. Ill effects produced by the cruelties of the Indians. Difficulties experienced by the royal army in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, and in the conveyance of provisions and stores from Lake George. Movement made down the North River, and a bridge of rafts thrown over near Saratoga, in order to facilitate the operations of Colonel St. Leger. Expedition to surprize the Magazines at Bennington, under the conduct of Colonel Baum. Colonel Breyman ordered forward to support the expedition. Baum defeated and taken prisoner; Breyman also defeated. Ill consequences. Fort Stanwix obstinately defended against Colonel St Leger. General Harkimer attempts to relieve the fort with a body of militia, who are mostly cut to pieces. Cruelty, and ill conduct of the savages; grow sullen and intractable; oblige Colonel St. Leger to raise the siege with precipitation and loss. Villainy of their behaviour on the retreat. Siege raised before the arrival of Arnold and his detachment to the relief of the fort. General Gates takes the command of the American army. General Burgoyne with the royal army pass the North River at Saratoga, and advance to attack the enemy near Still Water. Difference of opinion upon that measure, as well as the motives which led to its being adopted. Severe and heavy action on the nineteenth of September. Both armies fortify their camps. Unfortunate action on the seventh of October. Camp stormed. Death of General Frazer, Colonel Breyman, and Sir James Clarke. Distressed situation of the royal army. Masterly movement made, and an entire new position taken in the night. New engagement eagerly fought, but refused on the next day by the enemy. Retreat to Saratoga. Previous desertion of the Indians and others. Royal army reduced to the utmost streights. Nearly surrounded on all sides. Cut off from all means of subsistence, and possibility of retreat. Councils of war. Convention concluded with General Gates. Terms of the convention. State of the army. Successful expedition by Sir Henry Clinton and General Vaughan up the North River. Several forts taken; Esopus and other places destroyed. Colonel Campbell, with the Majors Still and Grant, and Count Graboufskie, a Polish nobleman, killed in this expedition. Some observations on the campaign.*

1777.

**N**OTHING could exceed the astonishment and terror, which the loss of Ticonderoga and its im-

immediate consequences, spread throughout the New-England Provinces, The General's manifesto in which he displayed the powers and numbers of the savages, added perhaps to the effect. It was remarkable, however, that in the midst of all these disasters and consequent terrors, no sort of disposition to submit appeared in any quarter.

1777.

The New England governments in particular, though most immediately menaced, did not sink under their apprehension of the common danger. They, as well as the congress, acted with vigour and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. Arnold, whom we have lately seen at the engagement at Danbury, was immediately sent to the reinforcement of the northern army, who carried with him a train of artillery which he received from Washington. On his arrival he drew the American troops back from Saratoga to Still Water, a central situation between that place, and the mouth of the Mohawk River, where it falls into Hudson's. This movement, was to be nearer at hand to check the progress of Colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing upon the former of these rivers. His forces were daily increased through the outrages of the savages, who, notwithstanding the regulations and endeavours of General Burgoyne, were too prone to the exercise of their usual cruelties, to be effectually restrained by any means. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, were equally victims to their indiscriminate rage. Among other instances of this nature, the murder of Miss Mc Crea, which happened some small time after, struck every breast with horror. Every circumstance of this horrid transaction served to render it more calamitous and afflicting. The young lady is represented to have been in all the innocence of youth, and bloom of beauty. Her father was said to be deeply interested in the royal cause; and to wind up the catastrophe of this odious tragedy, she

Miss Mc Crea inhumanly murdered.

1777. was to have been married to a British officer on the very day that she was massacred.

Occasion was thence taken to exasperate the people, and to blacken the royal party and army. People were too apt to jumble promiscuously, and to place in one point of view, the cruelties of these barbarians, and the cause in which they were exerted. They equally execrated both. Whilst they abhorred and detested that army, which submitted to accept of such an aid, they loudly condemned and reprobated that government, which could call such auxiliaries into a civil contest; thereby endeavouring, as they said, not to subdue but to exterminate, a people whom they affected to consider, and pretended to reclaim as subjects. General Gates, in the course of these transactions, was not wanting by several publications to aggravate and inflame the picture of these excesses; and with no small effect.

By this means, the advantages expected from the terror excited by these savage auxiliaries were not only counteracted; but this terror rather, it may be thought, produced a directly contrary effect. The inhabitants of the open and frontier countries had no choice of acting; they had no means of security left, but by abandoning their habitations, and taking up arms. Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection and defence of those connections which are dearer than life itself. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage; and when their regular army seemed to be entirely wasted, the spirit of the country produced a much greater and more formidable force.

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In the mean time, the army under General Burgoyne, in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, began to experience those difficulties, which increased as it farther advanced, until they at length became insurmountable. From the 30th of July, to the 15th of August, the army was continually employed, and every possible measure used, for the bringing forward of batteaux, provisions and ammunition, from Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson's River, a distance of about 18 miles. The toil was excessive in this service, and the effect in no degree equivalent to the expence of labour and time. The roads were in some parts steep, and in others required great repairs. Of the horses which had been supplied by contract in Canada, through the various delays and accidents attending so long and intricate a combination of passage by land and carriage by water, not more than one third were yet arrived. The industry of the General had been able to collect no more than 50 teams of oxen, in all the country through which he had marched, or this in which he at present sojourned. These resources were totally inadequate to the purposes of supplying the army with provisions for its current consumption, and to the establishment at the same time of such a magazine as would enable it to prosecute the further operations of the campaign. Exceeding heavy rains added to all these difficulties; and the impediments to the service were so various and stubborn, that after the utmost exertions for fifteen successive days, there was not above four days provision in store, nor above ten batteaux in the Hudson's River.

1777.

Difficulties under which G. Burgoyne's army laboured.

In these embarrassing and distressing circumstances, the General received intelligence, that Colonel St. Leger had arrived before, and was conducting his operations against Fort Stanwix. He instantly and justly conceived, that a rapid movement forward at this critical juncture would be of the

1777. the utmost importance. If the enemy proceeded up the Mohawk, and that St. Leger succeeded, he would be liable to get between two fires; or at any rate, General Burgoyne's army would get between him and Albany, so that he must either stand an action, or by passing the Hudson's river, endeavour to secure a retreat higher up to the New-England provinces. If, on the other hand, he abandoned Fort Stanwix to its fate, and fell back to Albany, the Mohawk country would of course be entirely laid open, the junction with St. Leger established, and the combined army at liberty and leisure to prescribe and chuse its future line of operation.

The propriety of the movement was evident; but the difficulty lay, and great indeed it was, in finding means to carry the design into execution. To maintain such a communication with Fort George during the whole time of so extensive a movement, as would afford a daily supply of provision to an army, whilst its distance was continually increasing, and its course liable to frequent variation, was obviously impracticable. The army was too weak to afford a chain of posts for such an extent; continual escorts for every separate supply would be a still greater drain; and in either case, the enemy had a body of militia within a night's march, at White Creek, sufficient to break the line of communication.

Some other source of supply was therefore to be sought, or the design to be dropped, and the prospect of advantage which it presented totally relinquished. The enemy received large supplies of live cattle from the New-England provinces, which passing the upper part of the Connecticut river, took the route to Manchester, Arlington, and other parts of the New Hampshire grants, a tract of land disputed between that province and New-York, until they were at length deposited at Bennington, from whence they were conveyed, as occasion required

to the rebel army. Bennington lies between the forks of the Hofsick river, before their obtaining that name, and without being touched by either, and not 20 miles to the eastward of Hudson's, a place so obscure, and so incapable from situation of being otherwise, that nothing but the present troubles could have called it into notice. It was however at this time, besides being a store for cattle, a deposit for large quantities of corn and other necessaries; and what rendered it an object of particular attention to the royal army, a large number of wheel carriages, of which they were in particular want, were also laid up there. This place was guarded by a body of militia, which underwent such frequent changes that its number was necessarily uncertain. 1777.

The General saw that the possession of this deposit would at once remove all the impediments that restrained the operations of the army, and enable him to proceed directly in the prosecution of his design. He accordingly laid a scheme to surprize the place, and entrusted the execution of it to the German Lieutenant-Colonel Beaum, who had been already selected, and was then preparing to conduct an expedition tending to similar purposes, towards the borders of the Connecticut River.

The force allotted to this service amounted to about 500 men, consisting of about 200 of Reidesel's dismounted German Dragoons, Captain Frazer's marksmen, the Canada volunteers, a party of provincials who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and about a hundred Indians; the corps carried with them two light pieces of artillery.

In order to facilitate this operation, and to be ready to take advantage of its success, the army moved up the east shore of Hudson's river, where it encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga, having at the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman's corps,  
con-



1777. consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and Chasseurs, posted at Batten Kill, in order if necessary to support Beaum.

The latter in his march fell in with a party of the enemy who were escorting some cattle and provisions, both of which he took with little difficulty and sent back to the camp. The same fatal impediment which retarded all the operations of the army, viz. the want of horses, and carriages, concurred with the badness of the roads in rendering Beaum's advance so tedious, that the enemy were well informed of his design, and had time to prepare for his reception. Upon his approach to the place, having received intelligence that the enemy were too strong to be attacked by his present force with any prospect of success, he took a tolerable good post near Santcoick Mills, on the nearer branch of what becomes afterwards the Hosick river, which is there called Walloon Creek, and at about four miles distance from Bennington; dispatching at the same time an express to the General with an account of his situation.

Colonel Breyman was accordingly dispatched from Batten Kill to reinforce Beaum. That evil fortune now began to appear, which for some time continued to sweep every thing before it. Breyman was so overlayed by bad weather, so sunk and embarrassed in bad roads, and met with such delays from the weakness and tiring of horses, and the difficulty of passing the artillery carriages, through a country scarcely practicable at any time, and now rendered much worse by the continual rain, that he was from eight in the morning of the 15th of Aug. to four in the afternoon of the following day, notwithstanding every possible exertion of men and officers, in getting forward about twenty-four miles.

A Gene-

1777.

Aug. 16.

Colonels  
Beaum  
and Brey-  
man de-  
feated.

A General Starke, who commanded the militia at Bennington, determined not to wait for the junction of the two parties, advanced in the morning, whilst Breyman was yet struggling with the difficulties of his march, to attack Beaum in his post, which he had entrenched, and rendered as defensible as time and its nature would permit. The loyal provincials who were along with him, were so eager in their hopes to find what they wished to be real, that when the enemy were surrounding his post on all sides, they for some time persuaded him, that they were bodies of armed friends who were coming to his assistance. The colonel soon discovered their error, and made a brave defence. His small works being at length carried on every side, and his two pieces of cannon taken, most of the Indians, with several of the Provincials, Canadians, and British marksmen, escaped in the woods. The German dragoons, still kept together, and when their ammunition was expended, were bravely led by their Colonel to charge with their swords. They were soon overwhelmed, and the survivors, among whom was their wounded Colonel, were made prisoners.

Breyman, who had the hard fortune not to receive the smallest information of this engagement, arrived near the same ground about four in the afternoon, where instead of meeting his friends, he found his detachment attacked on all sides by the enemy. Notwithstanding the severe fatigue they had undergone, his troops behaved with great vigour and resolution, and drove the Americans in the beginning from two or three different hills on which they had posts. They were however at length overpowered, and their ammunition being unfortunately expended, although each soldier had brought out forty rounds in his pouch, they were obliged with great reluctance to abandon the two pieces of artillery they had brought with them, and to retreat in the best manner they could; a circumstance to which

1777.  
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which the lateness of the evening was very favourable.

The loss of men sustained by these two engagements could not be less than five or six hundred, of whom, however, the greater part were prisoners. But this was not the only or the greatest loss. The reputation and courage which it afforded to the militia, to find that they were able to defeat regular forces; that neither Englishmen nor Germans were invincible, nor invulnerable to their impression; and the hope and confidence excited by the artillery, and other trophies of victory, were of much greater consequence. This was the first turn which fortune had taken in favour of the Americans in the northern war, since some time before the death of Montgomery; misfortune had succeeded misfortune, and defeat had trod upon the heels of defeat, since that period. This was the first instance in the present campaign, in which she seemed even wavering, much less that she for a moment quitted the royal standard. The exultation was accordingly great on the one side; nor could the other avoid feeling some damp to that eagerness of hope, and receiving some check to that assured confidence of success, which an unmixed series of fortunate events must naturally excite.

St. Leger's attempt upon Fort Stanwix, (now named by the Americans Fort Schuyler) was soon after its commencement favoured by a success so signal, as would in other cases, and a more fortunate season, have been decisive, as to the fate of a stronger and more important fortress. General Harkimer, a leading man of that country, was marching at the head of eight or nine hundred of the Tryon county militia, with a convoy of provisions, to the relief of the fort. St. Leger, well aware of the danger of being attacked in his trenches, and of withstanding the whole weight of the gar-
rison

rison in some particular, and probably weak point at the same instant, judiciously detached Sir John Johnson with some regulars, the whole or part of his own regiment, and the savages, to lie in ambush in the woods, and intercept the enemy upon their march.

1777.


It should seem by the conduct of the militia and their leader, that they were not only totally ignorant of all military duties, but that they had even never heard by report of the nature of an Indian war, or of that peculiar service in the woods, to which from its nature and situation this country was at all times liable. Without examination of their ground, without a reconnoitring, or flanking party, they plunged blindly into the trap that was laid for their destruction. Being thrown into a sudden and inevitable disorder, by a near and heavy fire on almost all sides, it was completed by the Indians, who instantly pursuing their fire, rushed in upon their broken ranks, and made a most dreadful slaughter amongst them with their spears and hatchets. Notwithstanding their want of conduct, the militia shewed no want of courage in their deplorable situation. In the midst of such extreme danger, and so bloody an execution, rendered still more terrible by the horrid appearance and demeanor of the principal actors, they recollected themselves so far as to recover an advantageous ground, which enabled them after to maintain a sort of running fight, by which about one third of their number was preserved.

The loss was supposed to be on their side about 400 killed, and half that number prisoners. It was thought of the greater consequence, as almost all those who were considered as the principal leaders and instigators of rebellion in that country were now destroyed. The triumph and exultation were accordingly great, and all opposition from the militia

1777.

in that country, was supposed to be at an end. The circumstance of old neighbourhood and personal knowledge between many of the parties, in the present rage and animosity of faction, could by no means be favourable to the extension of mercy; even supposing that it might have been otherwise practised with prudence and safety, at a time when the power of the Indians was rather prevalent, and that their rage was implacable. For according to their computation and ideas of loss, the savages had purchased this victory exceeding dearly, 33 of their number having been slain, and 29 wounded, among whom were several of their principal leaders, and of their most distinguished and favourite warriors. The loss accordingly rendered them so discontented, intractable and ferocious, that the service was greatly affected by their ill disposition. The unhappy prisoners were however its first objects; most of whom they inhumanly butchered in cold blood. The New-Yorkers, rangers, and other troops, were not without loss in this action.

On the day, and probably during the time of this engagement, the garrison, having received intelligence of the approach of their friends, endeavoured to make a diversion in their favour, by a vigorous and well conducted sally, under the direction of Colonel Willet, their second in command. Willet conducted his business with ability and spirit. He did considerable mischief in the camp, brought off some trophies, no inconsiderable spoil, some of which consisted in articles that were greatly wanted, a few prisoners, and returned with little or no loss. He afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, a much more perilous expedition. They passed by night through the besiegers works, and in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the savages, made their way for 50 miles through pathless woods and unexplored morasses, in order to raise the country

try, and bring relief to the fort. Such an action demands the praise even of an enemy.

1777.


Colonel St. Leger left no means untried to profit of his victory by intimidating the garrison. He sent verbal and written messages, stating their hopeless situation, the utter destruction of their friends, the impossibility of their obtaining relief, as General Burgoyne, after destroying every thing in his way, was now at Albany receiving the submission of all the adjoining countries, and by prodigiously magnifying his own force. He represented, that in this state of things, if, through an incorrigible obstinacy, they should continue a hopeless and fruitless defence, they would according to the practice of the most civilized nations, be cut off from all conditions, and every hope of mercy. But he particularly dwelt upon the pains he had taken in softening the rage of the Indians for their late loss, and obtaining from them security, that in case of an immediate surrender of the Fort, every man of the garrison should be spared : whilst on the other hand they declared with the utmost bitter execrations, that if they met with any further resistance, they would not only massacre the garrison, but that every man, woman and child in the Mohawk country would necessarily, and however against his will, fall sacrifices to the fury of the savages. This point he said he pressed entirely on the score of humanity ; he promised on his part, in case of an immediate surrender, every attention which a humane and generous enemy could give.

The Governor, Colonel Gansevort, behaved with great firmness. He replied, that he had been entrusted with the charge of that garrison by the United States of America ; that he would defend the trust committed to his care at every hazard, and to the utmost extremity ; and that he neither thought himself accountable for, nor should he at all concern

1777.  concern himself about any consequences that attended the discharge of his duty. It was shrewdly remarked in the fort, that half the pains would not have been taken, to display the force immediately without, or the success at a distance, if they bore any proportion at all to the magnitude in which they were represented.

The British commander was much disappointed in the state of the fort. It was stronger, in better condition, and much better defended than he expected. After great labour in his approaches, he found his artillery deficient, being insufficient in weight to make any considerable impression. The only remedy was to bring his approaches so near that they must take effect, which he set about with the greatest diligence. In the mean time, the Indians continued sullen and intractable. Their late losses might have been cured by certain advantages; but the misfortune was, they had yet got no plunder, and their prospect of getting any seemed to grow every day fainter. It is the peculiar characteristic of that people, to exhibit in certain instances degrees of courage and perseverance which shock reason and credibility, and to betray in others the greatest irresolution and timidity; with a total want of that constancy which might enable them for any length of time to struggle with difficulty.

Col. St.
Leger
obliged
to retreat
from Fort
Stanwix.

Whilst the commander was carrying on his operations with the utmost industry, the Indians received a flying report that Arnold was coming with a thousand men to relieve the fort. The commander endeavoured to hearten them, by promising to lead them himself, to bring all his best troops into action, and by carrying their leaders out to mark a field of battle, and the flattery of consulting them upon the intended plan of operation. Whilst he was thus endeavouring to soothe their temper, and to revive their flagging spirits, other scouts arrived
with

with intelligence, probably contrived in part by themselves, which first doubled, and afterwards trebled the number of the enemy, with the comfortable addition that Burgoyne's army was entirely cut to pieces. The Colonel returned to camp, and called a council of their chiefs, hoping that by the influence which Sir John Johnson, and the superintendants Claus and Butler had over them, they might still be induced to make a stand. He was disappointed. A part of the Indians decamped whilst the council was sitting, and the remainder threatened peremptorily to abandon him if he did not immediately retreat.

1777.

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The retreat was of course precipitate ; or it was rather, in plain terms, a flight, attended with disagreeable circumstances. The tents, with most of the artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the garrison. It appears by the Colonel's own account that he was as apprehensive of danger from the fury of his savage allies, as he could be from the resentment of his declared American enemies. It also appears from the same authority, that the Mes-sa-ges, a nation of savages to the west, plundered several of the boats belonging to the army. By the American accounts, which are in part confirmed by others, it is said that they robbed the officers of their baggage, and of every other article to which they took any liking ; and the army in general of their provisions. They also say, that at a few miles distance from the camp, they first stripped of their arms, and afterwards murdered with their own bayonets, all those British, German, and American soldiers, who from an inability to keep up, fear, or any other cause, were separated from the main body.

Aug. 22.

The state of the fact with respect to the intended relief of the fort is, that Arnold had advanced by the way of Half Moon up the Mohawk River with

1777. 2000 men for that purpose ; and that for the greater expedition, he had quitted the main body, and arrived by forced marches through the woods, with a detachment of 900 at the fort, on the 24th in the evening, two days after the siege had been raised. So that upon the whole, the intractableness of the Indians, with their watchful apprehension of danger, probably saved them from a chastisement, which would not have been tenderly administered.

General  
Gates  
takes the  
command  
of the  
Ameri-  
can army.

Nothing could have been more untoward in the present situation of affairs, than the unfortunate issue of this expedition. The Americans represented this and the affair at Bennington as great and glorious victories. Nothing could exceed their exultation and confidence. Gansevoort and Willet, with General Starke and Colonel Warner, who had commanded at Bennington, were ranked amongst those who were considered as the saviours of their country. The northern militia began now to look high, and to forget all distinctions between themselves and regular troops. As this confidence, opinion and pride increased, the apprehension of General Burgoyne's army of course declined, until it soon became to be talked of with indifference and contempt, and even its fortune to be publicly prognosticated. In the mean time, General Gates, on whose conduct and ability it appears the Americans had placed much reliance, arrived to take the command of the army ; an event which gave a new spur to their exertion, and afforded an additional support to their hopes. The arrival of Gates enabled Arnold, who still held the next place in every thing to the commander in chief, and between whom it appears the most perfect harmony prevailed, to set out on that expedition to Fort Stanwix, which has been just related.

During this time, General Burgoyne continued in his camp on the eastern shore of the Hudson's river,



River, nearly opposite to Saratoga, where he used the most unremitting industry and perseverance, in bringing stores and provisions forward from Fort George. As a swell of the water occasioned by great rains had carried away his bridge of rafts, he threw another of boats, over the river at the same place. Having at length by good management obtained and brought forward about thirty days provision, with other necessary stores, he took a resolution of passing the Hudson's River with the army, which he accordingly carried into execution towards the middle of September, and encamped on the heights and in the plain of Saratoga, the enemy being then in the neighbourhood of Still Water.

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G. Burgoyne encamps at Saratoga.

Though this measure of passing the Hudson's River, has not only been a subject of much discussion at home, but also of parliamentary enquiry; yet as it still lies open, without any decision on its merits, and that the General's instructions are not publicly known, nor perhaps all his motives thoroughly understood, we shall not presume to form any opinion upon the question. It will be sufficient to observe, that in his letter to the American Minister he says, That he thinks it a duty of justice to take upon himself the measure of having passed the Hudson's river, in order to force a passage to Albany. And that he did not think himself authorized to call any men into council, when the peremptory tenor of his orders, and the season of the year, admitted of no alternative. He also gives, in a subsequent part of the same letter, the following state of his reasoning, at a time when the army was in very critical and hazardous circumstances. "The expedition I commanded was evidently meant at first to be *hazarded*. Circumstances might require it should be *devoted*; a critical junction of Mr. Gates's force with Mr. Washington might possibly decide the fate of the war; the failure of my junction with Sir Harry Clinton, or the loss of

" my

1777. " my retreat to Canada, could only be a partial  
" misfortune." Whether his retreat was at this  
period quite practicable, even if his orders had not  
been to advance at all hazards, is uncertain.

Sept. 19. Such it seems were the principles of the General's conduct in some of the succeeding events. As the army advanced towards the enemy, they found the country very impracticable, being covered with thick woods, and a continual repair of bridges necessary. Being at length arrived in the front of the enemy, some woods only of no great extent intervening, the General put himself at the head of the British line which composed the right wing. That wing was covered by General Frazer and Col. Breyman, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, who kept along some high grounds which commanded its right flank, being themselves covered by the Indians, provincials, and Canadians, in the front and flanks. The left wing and artillery, under the Majors General Philips and Reidesel, kept along the great road and meadows by the river side.

The enemy, being incapable from the nature of the country, of perceiving the different combinations of the march, issued from their camp in great force, with a design of turning the right wing, and taking the British line on the flank. Being unexpectedly checked in this design, by the strong position of General Frazer, they immediately counter-marched, and the same particularity of country which had occasioned their mistake, now operating as effectually to prevent the discovery, and consequently the taking any advantage of their subsequent movement, they directed their principal effort to the left of the same wing.

The British troops were not a little surprised, at the boldness with which they began the attack, and the

the vigour and obstinacy with which it was sustained, from three o'clock in the afternoon, till after sunset. Arnold led on the enemy, and fought danger with an eagerness and intrepidity, which though much in his character, was at no time more eminently distinguished. The enemy were, however, continually supplied with fresh troops, whilst the weight of the action lay principally for a long time upon the 20th, the 21st, and 62d regiments. It will be needless to say that they behaved with their usual firmness and gallantry, though it may not be totally superfluous to observe, that the greater part of these three regiments, were engaged for four hours without intermission.

1777.  


Most of the other corps of the army, bore also a good share in the business of the day. The 24th regiment which belonged to Frazer's brigade, with the grenadiers and a part of the light infantry, were for some time brought into action, and charged with their usual spirit and bravery. Breyman's riflemen, and some other parts of his corps, also did good service; but these troops only acted partially and occasionally, as the heights on which they had originally posted, were of too great importance to be totally evacuated.

Major General Phillips upon first hearing the firing, made his way with Major Williams and a party of the artillery, through a very difficult part of the wood, and from that time rendered most essential service. It seems as if in one instance his presence of mind had nearly saved the army, when, in the most critical point of time, he restored the action by leading up the 20th regiment, the enemy having then obtained a great superiority of fire. Though every part of the artillery, performed almost wonders, the brave Captain Johnes (who was unfortunately, though gloriously, killed) with his brigade, were particularly distinguished. Major-Ge-

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1777. neral Reidesel also exerted himself to bring up a part of the left wing, and arrived in time to charge the enemy with bravery and effect. Just as the light closed, the enemy retired; and left the royal army masters of the field of battle. The darkness equally prevented pursuit and prisoners.

Upon the whole, the royal army gained nothing but honour by this arduous struggle and hard fought battle. They had now grappled with such an enemy as they had never before encountered in America; and such as they were too apt to imagine it could not produce. The flattering ideas that the Americans could fight under the covert of walls, hedges, or entrenchments, and were incapable of sustaining a fair and open conflict in the field, were now at an end. This opinion had also been in some measure shaken in the south. Here they met with a foe who seemed as eager for action, as careless of danger, and as indifferent with respect to ground or cover as themselves; and after a hard and close contest for four hours, hand to hand, when darkness put an end to the engagement, the royal forces but barely kept the field, and the Americans only returned to their camp.

We lost many brave men in this action, and it was not much matter of comfort that the Americans had lost a great number. The army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and in the morning took position nearly within cannon shot of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left so as to cover those meadows through which the river runs, and where their batteaux and Hospitals were placed. The 47th regiment, with that of Hesse Hanau, and a corps of provincials were encamped in the meadows as an additional security. The enemy's right was incapable of approach, and their left was too strongly fortified to be insulted.

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The zeal and alacrity of the Indians began from that time to slacken. Though the General complains in his dispatches of the ill effect of their desertion, he does not specify the particular time of their abandoning the army. This close and dangerous service was by no means suited to their disposition, and the prospects of plunder were principles for which they had no terms, and of which they could frame no ideas. Some letters had passed between Gates and General Burgoyne, in which bitter reproaches relative to the barbarities committed by the savages were thrown out by the one, and those charges were in general denied, and in part palliated by the other. The savages likewise received some check on the account of the murder of Miss M'Crea. Upon some of all these accounts they deserted the army in the season of its danger and distress, when their aid would have been most particularly useful; and afford a second instance within a short time of the little reliance that should be placed on such auxiliaries.

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A great desertion also prevailed amongst the Canadians and British provincials, nor does it seem as if the fidelity or services of those who remained were much depended on or esteemed. General Burgoyne had from the beginning, nor did it entirely forsake him to this time, a firm hope of being powerfully succoured if wanted, or at any rate of being met and joined at Albany, by a strong force from the army at New-York. He now received with great difficulty a letter in cypher from Sir Harry Clinton, informing him of his intention to make a diversion on the North River, by attacking Fort Montgomery, and some other fortresses which the rebels had erected in the highlands, in order to guard the passage up that river to Albany. Though this diversion fell far short of the aid which the General expected, he however hoped that it might afford essential service by obliging Gates to divide his

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his army. He accordingly returned the messenger, and afterwards dispatched two officers in disguise, and other confidential persons, all separately and by different routes, to acquaint Clinton with his exact state, situation and condition ; to press him urgently to the prosecution of his design ; and to inform him he was enabled in point of provision, and fixed in his determination, to hold his present position, in the hopes of favourable events, until the 12th of the following month.

In the mean time every means were used for fortifying the camp, and strong redoubts were erected for the protection of the magazines and hospitals, not only to guard against any sudden attack, but for their security in any future movement which the army might make in order to turn the enemy's flank. The strictest watch on the motions of the enemy, and attention on every quarter to their own security, became every day more indispensable, as Gates's army was continually increasing in force by the accession of fresh bodies of the militia.

The spirit of exertion and enterprize which was now raised in the New-England provinces, was become too general, and too much animated by success to be easily withstood at once in all the different parts of its direction. Whilst General Burgoyne was fully engaged with Gates and Arnold, and found himself immediately involved in circumstances sufficiently perplexing, all his difficulties were increased, and his situation was rendered much more critical and precarious, by an unexpected enterprize of the militia from the upper part of New-Hampshire and the head of the Connecticut, totally to cut off all means of communication with Canada, by recovering the forts of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and becoming again masters at least of Lake George.

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The expedition was under the direction of General Lincoln, and the immediate execution was committed to the Colonels Brown, Johnston, and Woodbury, with detachments of about 500 men each. They conducted their operations with such secrecy and address, that they effectually surprized all the out posts between the landing place at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortress of Ticonderoga, Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the French lines, and a blockhouse, with 200 batteaux, an armed sloop, and several gun-boats, were almost instantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Canadians, and many of the officers and crews of the vessels were made prisoners; whilst they afforded freedom to a number of their own people, who were confined in some of the works they had taken. In this heat of success, they brought the cannon out of the armed vessel they had taken, and after repeated summons to Brigadier Powel who commanded, and who gallantly rejected all their proposals, they for four days made reiterated attacks upon the works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence: until finding that they were repulsed in every assault, and totally unequal to the service, they at length abandoned the design.

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Sept. 17.

In the beginning of October General Burgoyne thought it expedient, from the uncertainty of his situation, to lessen the soldiers ration of provision; a measure which however disagreeable to an army, was now submitted to with a cheerfulness which merited the highest regards, and did the highest honour to the troops. Things continued in this state till the 7th of October, when there being no appearance or intelligence of the expected co-operation, and the time limited for the stay of the army in its present camp within four or five days of being expired, it was judged adviseable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to discover whether

1777. ther there were any possible means of forcing a passage, should it be necessary to advance, or of dislodging them for the convenience of retreat, but also to cover a forage of the army, which was exceedingly distressed by the present scarcity.

A detachment of 1500 regular troops, with 2 twelve-pounders, 2 howitzers, and 6 six-pounders, were ordered to move, being commanded by the General in person, who was seconded by those excellent officers the Majors General Phillips and Reidesel, with Brigadier General Frazer. No equal number of men were ever better commanded, and it would have been difficult indeed, to have matched the men with an equal number. The guard of the camp upon the high grounds, was committed to the Brigadiers General Hamilton and Speigh; that of the redoubts and the plain near the River, to Brigadier Goll. The force of the enemy immediately in the front of the line, was so much superior, that it was not thought fit to augment the detachment beyond the number we have stated.

The troops were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and the irregulars were pushed on through bye ways to appear as a check on their rear. But the further intended operations of the detachment were prevented, by a very sudden and most rapid attack of the enemy upon the British grenadiers, who were posted to support the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, sustained this fierce attack with great resolution; but the numbers of the enemy enabling them, in a few minutes, to extend the attack along the whole front of the Germans, who were posted immediately on the right of the grenadiers, it became impracticable to move any part of that body, for the purpose of forming a second line to support the flank, where the great weight of the fire still fell.

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The right were still unengaged; but it was soon perceived that the enemy were marching a strong body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold and dangerous attempt, the light infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, which were joined with them at that post, were thrown into a second line, in order to cover the retreat of the troops into camp.

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Whilst this motion was yet in its process, the enemy pushed a fresh and strong reinforcement to decide the action on the left, which being totally overpowered by so great a superiority, was compelled by dint of force to give way; upon which the light infantry and 24th regiment were obliged by a very quick movement, to endeavour to save that wing from being totally ruined. It was in this movement that the brave Brigadier General Frazer was mortally wounded. An officer whose loss would have been severely felt, and his place with difficulty supplied in a corps of the most accomplished officers.

General  
Frazer  
killed.

The situation of the detachment was now exceedingly critical; but the danger to which the lines were exposed was still more alarming and serious. Phillips and Reidesel were ordered to cover the retreat, and those troops which were nearest, or most disengaged, returned as fast as they could for their defence. The troops in general retreated in good order, though very hard pressed. They were obliged to abandon six pieces of cannon; the horses not only being destroyed, but most of the brave artillery men, who had as usual, under the conduct of Major Williams, displayed the utmost skill and ability in their profession, along with the most undaunted resolution, being either killed or dangerously wounded.

The enemy pursued this success with great eagerness. The troops had scarce entered the camp, when



1777. when the Americans stormed it with uncommon fierceness; rushing to the lines through a severe fire of grape shot and small arms, with the utmost fury. Arnold led on the attack with his usual impetuosity, against a part of the entrenchments into which the light infantry under Lord Balcarras, with a part of the line, had thrown themselves by order. He there met with a brave and obstinate resistance. The action continued very warm for some time, each side seeming to vie with the other in ardour and perseverance. In this critical moment of glory and danger, Arnold was grievously wounded, just as he was forcing his way into, or had already entered the works. This could not fail to damp his party, who after long and repeated efforts were finally repulsed.

Colonel  
Breyman  
killed,  
and the  
royal ar-  
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feated.

Affairs were not so fortunate in another quarter. Colonel Breyman, who commanded the German reserve, being killed, the entrenchments defended by that corps were carried sword in hand, and they were totally routed with the loss of their baggage, tents and artillery. This misfortune was not retrieved, although orders for the recovery of the post were dispatched by the General; and his relation seems to imply some blame to those who failed in the execution. By this means the enemy gained a dangerous opening on our right and rear. The night only put an end to the engagement.

It would seem that nothing could now exceed the distresses and calamity of the army. They bore it with that excellency of temper, and resolution, which are natural to, and were worthy of British soldiers. It was evidently impossible to continue in their present situation, without submitting to a certainty of destruction on the ensuing day. A total change of position was accordingly undertaken, and as it seems to have been conceived with great judgment, was carried into execution during the night  
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with a degree of coolness, silence, order and intrepidity, which has seldom been equalled, and will certainly be never exceeded. It was not the movement of a wing or a part, it was a general remove of the whole army, of the camp and artillery, from its late ground, to the heights above the hospital; thus by an entire change of front, to reduce the enemy to the necessity of forming an entire new disposition. All this was accomplished in the darkness, and under the doubt and apprehension of such a night, so fatally ushered in, and accompanied throughout with circumstances of such uncommon peril, as were sufficient to disturb the best formed mind, and to shake the firmest resolution without loss, and what was still more without disorder.

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Many brave men fell on this unfortunate day. The officers suffered exceedingly. Several who had been grievously wounded in the late action, and who disdained an absence from any danger in which their fellows were involved, were again wounded in this. Among those of greater note, or who were distinguished by higher rank, who fell, besides General Frazer, and Colonel Breyman, whom we have mentioned, Sir James Clarke, Aid de Camp to General Burgoyne, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Major Williams of the artillery, and Major Ackland of the grenadiers, were also taken, the latter being wounded. Upon the whole, the lists of killed and wounded, though avowedly imperfect, and not including the Germans, were long and melancholy.

On the next day, the army being sensible that nothing less than a successful and decisive action could extricate them from their present difficulties, continued without effect, during its course, to offer battle repeatedly in their new position to the enemy. They were preparing with great coolness, the carrying of measures into execution, which were less

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1777. dangerous, though not less effectual, than the attack of a brave and desperate enemy, in strong and fortified ground, a continued succession of skirmishes were, however, carried on, and these did not pass without loss on both sides.

In the mean time, the British General discovered, that the enemy had pushed a strong body forward to turn his right, which if effected, he would have been completely enclosed on every side. Nothing was left to prevent this fatal consequence, but an immediate retreat to Saratoga. The army accordingly began to move at nine o'clock at night; and tho' the movement was within musket shot of the enemy, and the army encumbered in its retreat with all its baggage, it was made without loss. A heavy rain which fell that night, and continued the ensuing day, though it impeded the progress of the army, and increased the difficulties of the march, served at the same time to retard, and in a great measure to prevent the pursuit of the enemy. In this unhappy necessity, the hospital with the sick and wounded, was of course, and must have been inevitably abandoned. In this instance, as well as in every other which occurred in the course of these transactions, General Gates behaved with an attention and humanity, to all those whom the fortune of war had thrown into his hands, which does honour to his character.

On the side of the Americans, the loss in killed and wounded was great; and is supposed exceeded that of the British. They, however, lost no officer of note; but the Generals Lincoln, and Arnold were both dangerously wounded.

From the impediments in the march which we have mentioned, the army did not cross the fords of the Fish Kill Creek, which lies a little to the northward of Saratoga, until the 10th in the morning. They



They found a body of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up entrenchments on the heights before them, who retired at their approach over a ford of the Hudson's river, and there joined a greater force, which was stationed to prevent the passage of the army. No hopes now remained but that of effecting a retreat, at least as far as fort George, on the way to Canada. For this purpose a detachment of artificers under a strong escort, was sent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward. But they were not long departed from the camp, when the sudden appearance of the enemy in great force, on the opposite heights, with their apparent preparation to pass the Fish Kill and bring on an immediate engagement, rendered it necessary to recal the 47th regiment, and Frazer's marksmen, who with Mackay's provincials composed the escort. The workmen had only commenced the repair of the first bridge, when they were abandoned by their provincial guard, who ran away and left them to shift for themselves, only upon a very slight attack of an inconsiderable part of the enemy. All the force of discipline, and all the stubbornness derived from its most confirmed habits were now necessary to support even the appearance of resolution.

The farther shore of the Hudson's river, was now lined with detachments of the enemy, and the batteaux loaden with provisions and necessaries, which had attended the motions of the army up the river, since its departure from the neighbourhood of Still Water, were exposed, notwithstanding any protection which could possibly be afforded, to the continual fire and attacks of these detachments. Many boats were taken, some retaken, and a number of men lost in the skirmishes, upon these occasions. At length it was found the provisions could only be preserved by landing and bringing them up the hill to the camp; a labour which was accomplished under a heavy fire with difficulty and loss.

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In these deplorable circumstances councils of war were held, to consider of the possibility of a further retreat. The only measure that carried even the appearance of practicability, hard, difficult, and dangerous as it was, was by a night march to gain Fort Edward, the troops carrying their provisions upon their backs. The impossibility of repairing the roads and bridges, and of conveying in their present situation the artillery and carriages, were too evident to admit of a question. It was proposed to force the fords at or near Fort Edward.

Whilst preparations were making for carrying this forlorn and desperate resolve into execution, intelligence was received, that the enemy had already with great foresight, provided for every possible measure that could be adopted for an escape, and that this final resort was accordingly cut off. Besides being strongly entrenched opposite to the fords which it was intended to pass, they had a camp in force, and provided with artillery, on the high and strong grounds, between Fort Edward and Fort George; whilst their party were every where spread along the opposite shore of the river, to watch or intercept the motions of the army, and on their own, the enemy's posts were so close, that they could scarcely make the smallest movement without discovery.

Nothing could be more deplorably calamitous, than the state and situation of the army. Worn down by a series of hard toil, incessant effort, and stubborn action; abandoned in their utmost necessity and distress by the Indians; weakened by the desertion, or disappointed and discouraged by the timidity and inefficacy of the Canadians and Provincials; and the regular troops reduced by repeated and heavy losses, of many of their best men and most distinguished officers, to the number of only 3,500 effective fighting men, of whom not quite

2,000

2,000 were British. In these circumstances, and in this state of weakness, without a possibility of retreat, and their provision just exhausted, they were invested by an army of four times their own number, whose position extended three parts in four of a circle round them; who refused to fight from a knowledge of their condition; and who from the nature of the ground could not be attacked in any part.

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In this helpless condition, obliged to lie constantly on their arms, whilst a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape shot fell in every part of the lines, the British troops retained their constancy, temper, and fortitude, in a wonderful and almost unparalleled manner. As true courage submits with great difficulty to despair, they still flattered themselves with the hope of succour from their friends on the New-York side, or, perhaps with not less fervent wishes, of an attack from the enemy; thereby to quit all scores at once, and either to have an opportunity of dying gallantly, or extricating themselves with honour. The enemy's force was continually increased by the pouring in of the militia from all parts, who were all eager to partake of the glory, the spoil, or the pleasure of beholding the degradation of those whom they had so long dreaded, and whom they unhappily considered as their most implacable enemies.

At length, no succour appearing, and no rational ground of hope of any kind remaining, an exact account of the provisions was taken on the evening of the 13th of October, when it was found that the whole stock in hand, would afford no more than three days bare subsistence for the army. A council was immediately called; and the General thinking it right and just, in a matter so momentous to individuals, as well as the whole, to obtain a general opinion and suffrage of the army, so far as it could
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1777. with propriety be collected, invited, besides the Generals and field officers, all the Captains commanding corps or divisions, to assist at the council. The result was, an unanimous determination to open a treaty and enter into a convention with General Gates.

Gates shewed no marks of arrogance, nor betrayed any signs of being carried away by the present extraordinary torrent of success. The terms were moderate, considering the ruined state and irretrievable circumstances of the army; and that it was already in effect at the enemy's mercy, being equally incapable of subsisting where it was, and of making its way to a better situation. The principal difficulty related to a point of military honour, in which the British Generals and troops were peremptory, and Gates far from being rigid.

Oct. 17. The principal articles of the convention, exclusive of those which related to the provision and accommodation of the army, in its way to Boston, and during its stay at that place, were, that the army should march out of the camp with all the honours of war, and its camp artillery, to a fixed place where they were to deposit their arms: To be allowed a free embarkation and passage to Europe from Boston, upon condition of their not serving again in America, during the present war; the army not to be separated, particularly the men from the officers; roll-calling, and other duties of regularity to be admitted; the officers to be admitted on parole, and to wear their side arms; all private property to be sacred, and the public delivered upon honour; no baggage to be searched or molested; all persons of whatsoever country, appertaining to, or following the camp, to be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation; and the Canadians to be returned to their own country, liable to its conditions.

Convention of
the royal
army with
G. Gates

General



THE HON^{BLE} Horatio Gates
MAJOR GENERAL of the AMERICAN FORCES

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General Gates fulfilled all the conditions, so far as he was, or could be concerned in them, with the utmost punctuality and honour. His humanity and politeness, in every part of this business, have been much celebrated; without a single detraction, so far as we have heard, from the most favourable accounts that have been given of his conduct. This was the most praise-worthy, as some late, as well as former circumstances, had highly enraged the American militia; the army in its last movement, whether from military necessity, or the vexation and ill-temper incident to their situation, or the joint operation of both, having burnt and destroyed many houses, and some of them buildings of great value. The extraordinary and severe execution which now took place upon the North River, would also have afforded too much colour for a different mode of conduct. It is even said, and we do not find that it has been contradicted, that this General paid so nice and delicate an attention to the British military honour, and to the character and feelings of those brave troops, who now experienced so deplorable a reverse of fortune, that he kept his army close within their lines, and did not suffer an American soldier to be a witness to the degrading spectacle of piling their arms. 1777.

The Americans state the whole number who laid down their arms, including Canadians, Provincials, volunteers, regulars, and irregulars, of all sorts, at 5752 men. In this number is undoubtedly included, though not specified, all the artificers, labourers, and followers of the camp. They also state the number of sick and wounded left in the hospitals at the retreat from the camp near Still Water, to 528 men, and the loss besides in the army in killed, wounded, taken, or deserted, from the 6th of July downwards, to 2,933; the total amount to these numbers being 9,213 men. By another account,

1777. count, the number is carried to about ten thousand. They also got a fine train of brass artillery, amounting to 35 pieces of different sorts and sizes.

During these unfortunate transactions, Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, conducted his expedition up the North River with great success. He had embarked about 3000 men for that service, accompanied by a suitable naval force, consisting of ships of war, armed galleys, and smaller vessels, under the conduct of Commodore Hotham. Their first object was the reduction of the fort Montgomery and Clinton, which tho' of considerable strength, being at that time in a very unguarded state, it was determined to attempt by a coup de main. They were situated on either side of a creek, which descended from the mountains to the North River, and their communications preserved by a bridge. Several necessary motions being made to mask the real design, the troops were landed in two divisions, at such a distance from their object, as occasioned a considerable and difficult march through the mountains; which was however calculated and conducted with such precision, that the two detachments arrived on the opposite sides of the creek, and began their separate attack on the forts, at nearly the same time. The surprize and terror of the garrisons was increased by the appearance of the ships of war, and the arrival and near fire of the galleys, which approached so close as to strike the walls with their oars. The assault on both sides of the creek was exceedingly vigorous, and the impetuosity of the troops so great, that notwithstanding a very considerable defence, both the forts were carried by storm. As the soldiers were much irritated, as well by the fatigue they had undergone, and the opposition they met, as by the loss of some brave and favourite officers, the slaughter of the enemy was considerable.

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Upon the loss of the forts, the rebels set fire to two fine new frigates, and to some other vessels, which with their artillery and stores were all consumed. Another fort called Constitution, was in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined land and naval force, precipitately set on fire and abandoned. General Tryon also, at the head of a detachment, destroyed a new and thriving settlement called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, with considerable stores. The artillery taken in the three forts, amounted to 67 pieces of different sizes. A large quantity of artillery and other stores, with ammunition and provisions, were also taken. A large boom and chain, the making of which was supposed to have cost 70,000*l.* and the construction of which was considered as an extraordinary proof of American labour, industry, and skill, was in part destroyed, and in part carried away. Upon the whole, the American loss in value, was probably greater than upon any other occasion since the commencement of the war. Their strength and attention were drawn away to the northward, and other things must have been neglected, whilst they applied both to the principal object.

Our loss in killed and wounded was not great as to number, but some distinguished and much lamented officers fell. Of these, besides Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, who commanded the attack on Fort Montgomery, Major Sill, was from the general esteem he had acquired through his many excellent qualities, universally regretted. Major Grant of the New York volunteers, and Count Grabowski, a Polish nobleman, and Aid de Camp to General Clinton, were also slain in the assault on these forts.

The expedition did not end with this success. Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light
S f f frigates,

1777.

frigates, and General Vaughan, with a considerable detachment of troops, continued, for several days, their excursion up the river, carrying terror and destruction wherever they went. At the very time that General Burgoyne was receiving the most favourable conditions for himself and a ruined army, the fine village or town of Esopus, at no very great distance, was reduced to ashes, and not a house left standing. The extraordinary devastation which attended every part of this expedition, of the necessity of which we are not judges, was productive of a pathetic but severe letter, from General Gates, then in the height of victory, to General Vaughan.

On the approach of Gates, the troops and vessels retired to New York, having dismantled the forts, and for a time at least, having left the river defenceless. But that enterprize, though conducted with spirit and ability, was of little moment in the general account.

Such was the unfortunate issue of the northern campaign: The event of an expedition which was undertaken with the most confident hopes, and for some time pursued with very flattering appearances of success. It was supposed the principal means for the immediate reduction of the colonies; but it has only served, in conjunction with other operations, which in the first instance have succeeded better, to demonstrate the difficulties attending the subjugation of a numerous people at a great distance, in an extensive country marked with strong lines, and abounding in strong natural defences, if the resources of war are not exceedingly deficient, and that the spirit of the people is in any degree proportioned to their situation. It may now, whatever it was in the beginning, be a matter of doubt, whether any superiority of power, of wealth, and of discipline, will be found to over-balance such difficulties.

It

It would not be easy at present, as many things necessary to be known have not been fully explained, and improper, as the whole is still a subject of public investigation, to attempt forming any judgment upon the general plan or system of this campaign. The general conduct of the war this year has already undergone much censure; and undoubtedly, the sending of the grand army at such a distance to the southward, whilst the inferior was left struggling with insurmountable difficulties in the north, when it would seem that their junction or co-operation, would have rendered them greatly superior to any force which could have been possibly brought to oppose their progress, seems, in this view of things, not to be easily accounted for. It is, however, a subject, upon which no conclusive opinion can yet be formed.*

1777.

* As the misfortune of the Northern army under General Burgoyne, was the subject of a parliamentary enquiry in the session of 1779, we have inserted in the Appendix the evidence at large of the principal officers under General Burgoyne, from their leaving Quebec to the convention at Saratoga. On this evidence the public can best form an opinion to what causes the unfortunate issue of the Northern campaign may be attributed.

C H A P. XVII.

State of Affairs previous to the Meeting of Parliament. Consequences of the American War with respect to Commerce. Conduct of France. Stability of Administration equally secured by good or bad success. Speech from the Throne. Motion for certain papers, after long debates rejected upon a division. Circumstances attending the disclosure of the unhappy event at Saratoga. Lord Chatbam's motion for the orders and instructions to General Burgoyne, after considerable debates, rejected upon a division. Debates upon a second motion by the same noble Lord, relative to the employment of the savages in the American war. Motion rejected upon a division. Subscription for the American prisoners. State of public affairs. Scheme for raising a body of troops to supply the loss at Saratoga. Mr. Fox's motions in the committee, relative to the state of the forces in America from the commencement of the war, and the losses sustained on that service, rejected, after much debate. Petition from the county of Norfolk. Lord North's conciliatory propositions. Two bills brought in thereon. Effect of the Minister's speech. Conduct of the minority with respect to his conciliatory scheme. Mr. Fox states his information of the conclusion of a treaty between France and the American deputies; calls upon the Minister for an explanation on that subject. Progress of the bills. Motion by Mr. Grenville rejected. French Declaration. Royal Message. Great Debates on the Address. Circumstances relative to the arrival of General Burgoyne. Motion by Mr. Wyner, relative to the Canada expedition. Amendment moved by Mr. Fox. Explanations of his situation and conduct by General Burgoyne. Debate. Mr. Fox's amendment rejected on a division. Original motion set aside by the previous question. Speech from the Throne.

1777. **N**O equal space of time for several years past, afforded so little domestic matter worthy of observation, as that part of the year 1777, which elapsed during the recess of parliament. Neither the town nor the country presented any new object of party contention. The American war, and many of its consequences, were now scarcely objects of curiosity, much less of surprize; and being in the habit of deriving no benefit from our colonies, and of considering them only in a state of enmity and hostility, it seemed as if their total loss would

would be no longer a matter of much wonder or concern; but that rather on the contrary, that event would be felt, as a cessation from war, expence and trouble, usually is felt in other cases. 1777.

The loss and ruin brought upon numbers of individuals, by this fatal quarrel between the mother country and her colonies, was little thought of, excepting by the sufferers, and had, as yet, produced no apparent change in the face of public affairs. For although our foreign commerce, was by this time, considerably embarrassed, and loaded with extraordinary charges; although it was already reduced in some of its parts, and in others, such as the African branch, nearly annihilated; it had not yet received those strokes, or at least they were not yet so sensibly felt, which have since shaken the mercantile interest of this country to a degree which it had not often before experienced.

No apparent change in public affairs produced by the American war.

Indeed that commerce, which had so long equally excited the envy of other nations, and the admiration of mankind, was so immense in its extent, and involved such a multitude of great and material objects in its embrace, that it was not to be shaken by any usual convulsion of nature, nor to be endangered by any common accident of fortune. It accordingly bore many severe shocks, and sustained losses of a prodigious magnitude, before they were capable of apparently affecting its general system.

We have formerly shewn that the American war, from its peculiar nature, and the greatness of the expence, with which it was conducted and supplied, had produced a new species of commerce, which, however ruinous in its ultimate effects, had for the present a flattering appearance. For this substitute, including all the traffick appertaining to or consequent of the war, as well as the commercial

1777.

cial speculations which arose by licenced exception or evasion of the several restraining acts of parliament, afforded employment, like a great and legitimate commerce, to an infinite number of persons, and quantity of shipping, yielding at least equal benefits to the gross of those who were concerned; and far greater emoluments, devoid of risque, or even of the employment of much capital, to the principals, than the profits of any real or open trade could possibly admit.

Thus, however frail its establishment, and necessarily short its duration, a new, powerful, and numerous connection was formed, totally distinct from the great, ancient, mercantile interest; and thus, although our Gazettes teemed with bankruptcies, generally doubling and trebling in number, whatever had been usually known, in the same time, in this country, yet the gainers, or the candidates for gain in the new adventures, were so numerous, and presented such an appearance of ease, affluence, and content, that the plaintive but feeble voice of the unfortunate was little attended to; and the cheerfulness which the splendour and happiness of the former spread all around, prevented any gloomy reflections from arising in the minds of those who had as yet no sensible feeling of the public calamity.

Coasts of
G. Britain and
Ireland
Insulted
by American
privateers.

It is true, that the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland were insulted by the American privateers, in a manner which our hardiest enemies had never ventured in our most arduous contentions with foreigners. Thus were the inmost and most domestic recesses of our trade rendered insecure; and a convoy for the protection of the linen ships from Dublin and Newry, was now for the first time seen. The Thames also presented the unusual and melancholy spectacle, of numbers of foreign ships, particularly French, taking in cargoes of English commodities

modities for various parts of Europe, the property of our own merchants, who were thus reduced to seek that protection under the colours of other nations, which the British flag used to afford to all the world. 1777.

Against this must be set, that his Majesty's ships took a prodigious number of American vessels, both on their own coasts and in the West Indies. The perseverance with which the Americans supplied the objects for these captures, by continually building new ships, and seeking new adventures, seemed almost incredible. At a time when the whole of a trade, carried on under such discouraging circumstances, seemed to be extinguished, the Gazettes teemed again with the account of new captures; which, though for the greater part, they were not of much value singly, yet furnished, at times, some very rich prizes; and, in the aggregate, were of a vast amount. They probably much overballanced the losses which we sustained from their privateers. But it was, to a thinking mind, melancholy, that we had a computation of that kind to make.

The conduct of France during this whole year, in every thing that regarded England and America, was so slightly covered, and so little qualified; that it seemed to leave no room for any doubt, (excepting with those who were determined to place so implicit a faith in words, as to admit of no other species of evidence) as to the part which she would finally take in the contest. As she was not yet, however, in sufficient preparation for proceeding to the utmost extremities, nor her negotiations with the Americans advanced to an absolute determination, she occasionally relaxed in certain points, when she found herself so closely pressed by the British ministers, that an obstinate perseverance would

Conduct
of France
with re-
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America.

1777. would precipitate matters to that conclusion, which she wished for some time longer to defer.

Cunningham committed to prison at Dunkirk for taking the English packet from Holland, but soon after released.

Thus, when a bold American adventurer, one Cunningham, had taken and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out at that port, the English packet from Holland, and sent the mail to the American ministers at Paris, it then seemed necessary in some degree to discountenance so flagrant a violation of good neighbourhood, as well as of the standing treaties between the two nations, and even of the particular marine laws and regulations established in France, in regard to her conduct with the people of other countries. Cunningham, and his crew, were accordingly committed for some short time to prison. Yet this appearance of satisfaction was done away by the circumstances which attended it. For Cunningham's imprisonment was represented to the Americans, as proceeding merely from some informality in his commission, and irregularity in his proceedings, which had brought him to, if not within, the verge of piracy, and which were too glaring to be entirely passed over without notice. And he was, with his crew, not only speedily released from their mock confinement, but he was permitted to purchase, fit out, and arm, a much stronger vessel, and better sailor than the former, avowedly to infest as before the British commerce.

Lord Stormont obtains an order from the French court, that all American privateers with their prizes should depart that kingdom.

It was in the same line of policy, that when the French Newfoundland fishery would have been totally intercepted and destroyed in case of an immediate rupture, and that the capture of their seamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable, than the loss even of the ships and cargoes, Lord Stormont obtained, in that critical situation, an order from the ministers, that all the American privateers, with their prizes, should immediately depart the kingdom. Yet, satisfactory as this compliance, and conclusive as this order appeared, it was combated with

with such ingenuity, and such expedients practised to defeat its effects, that it was not complied with in a single instance throughout the kingdom. It, however, answered the purpose for which it was intended, by gaining time, and opening a subject of tedious and indecisive controversy, until the French ships were safe in their respective ports.

1777.

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It would seem, that Monfr. de Sartine, the French Minister of the marine, and great advocate for the American cause, was determined, that whatever charges of duplicity might be brought against his country, they should not rest personally with himself. For this Minister, upon some reports which tended to discourage the commerce with the Americans, as if the court would not protect its subjects in conveying the products of that continent in their vessels, which would accordingly become legal prizes to the English if taken, assured the several chambers of commerce by a public instrument, and in direct contravention of all our navigation laws, that the King was determined to afford the fullest protection to their commerce, and would reclaim all ships that were taken under that pretext.

July 4.

Upon the whole, whatever evasion or duplicity might have appeared in the language or professions of France, her conduct was so unequivocal in the course of this business, that the only matter of surprise would be, if it could be thought possible that she imposed upon any people by the one, or that they could mistake her designs in the other. It indeed required no great sagacity to discover, that she had now required so thorough a relish for the sweets of the American commerce, that nothing less than the most irresistible necessity, could induce her to forego the possession of what she had obtained, and the vast hopes with which she flattered herself in future. But as yet she waited the event of the American campaign, and the completion of her naval equip-

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1777.

ments, (which were carried on with the greatest diligence and in the most public manner at Brest and Toulon,) before she risked any decisive step.

No change of any sort, whether by death, removal or internal arrangement, had taken place in administration during the recess. Every day of the American war rivetted the ministers faster in their seats. Good and bad success produced the same effect in that respect. In the former instance, who could be deemed so fitting to conclude the business, as those by whom it was framed, and so far happily conducted? In the other, who could be found hardy enough to undertake the completion of a ruinous system, which, besides its failure already in the execution, was originally, and in its nature, clogged with infinite difficulty and danger? Thus situated, and supported by an uncontrollable force in parliament, it seemed that nothing could disturb their repose, until the present American system was in some manner disposed of.

Nov. 20.

Speech  
from the  
throne.

The speech from the throne expressed great satisfaction in having recourse to the wisdom and support of parliament in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in America demanded their most serious attention. The powers with which parliament had entrusted the crown for the suppression of the revolt, were declared to have been faithfully exerted; and a just confidence was expressed, that the courage and conduct of the officers, with the spirit and intrepidity of the forces, would be attended with important success; but under a persuasion that both houses would see the necessity of preparing for such further operations, as the contingencies of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels might render expedient, his Majesty was, for that purpose, pursuing the proper measures for keeping the land forces complete to their present establishment; and if he should have occasion to increase them,  
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by contracting any new engagements, a reliance was placed on their zeal and public spirit to enable him to make them good.

1777.

Although repeated assurances were received of the pacific disposition of the foreign powers, yet as the armaments in the ports of France and Spain were continued, it was thought adviseable to make a considerable augmentation to our naval force; it being equally determined not to disturb the peace of Europe on the one hand, and to be a faithful guardian of the honour of the crown on the other.

The Commons were informed, that the various services which had been mentioned, would unavoidably require large supplies; and a profession was made, that nothing could relieve the royal mind from the concern which it felt for the heavy charge they must bring on the people, but a conviction of their being necessary for the welfare and essential interests of these kingdoms.

The speech concluded, with a resolution of steadily pursuing the measures in which they were engaged for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which his Majesty was determined to maintain through the several parts of his dominions; accompanied with a profession of being watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of his subjects; a renewal or continuance of the former hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance, upon a recollection of the blessings of their former government, and a comparison with the miseries of their present situation; and a declaration, that the restoration of peace, order and confidence to his American colonies, would be considered by his Majesty as the greatest happiness of his life, and the greatest glory of his reign.

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1777.

The addressees were so exactly in the present established style and form, and in such perfect unison with the speech, that any particular notice of them would be needless. All the measures which it held out, whether in act or design, were applauded; its positions confirmed; and an unlimited concurrence agreed. The ministers received their usual portion of praise in that share assigned to the prudence and wisdom of our public counsels; and the firmness, dignity, humanity, and paternal tenderness expressed in the speech, were highly extolled.

From this time to the recess, and indeed during the greater part of the session, enquiry into the conduct of public affairs, whether particular or general, became the great object of opposition in both Houses.

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goyne.

On the disclosure of the melancholy catastrophe of General Burgoyne's expedition, and the unhappy fate of the brave but unfortunate northern army at Saratoga. A disclosure, which excited no less consternation, grief, and astonishment in both houses, than it did of dismay on the side of the ministers. The noble Lord at the head of the American department, being called upon by a gentleman in opposition for the purport of the dispatches which were received from Canada, was the unwilling relater of that melancholy event, in the House of Commons.

This of course brought out, with fresh fervour, and additional asperity, all the censures and charges that ever had been, or that could be passed or made, whether relative to the principle or policy of the contest, the conduct of the war, or the general incapacity of the ministers. After condemning and reprobating the latter in terms of the utmost severity, the opposition applied the most pathetic expressions which our language affords, to deplore the fate of the gallant General and his brave army, who, they

they said, after surmounting toils, dangers, and difficulties, which should have crowned them with lasting glory and honour, and shewing themselves superior to every thing, excepting only the injustice of the cause in which they were engaged, and the inherent fatality of that ill-starred direction under which they acted, were so overwhelmed in the joint operation of these concurring causes, as not only to be plunged into irretrievable ruin, but also, what had never before happened to such men, nor could ever again be the reward of such actions, they were finally sunk into disgrace. 1777.

They condemned the whole plan and design of the expedition in the most unqualified terms. Said, that it was an absurd, an inconsistent, and an impracticable scheme, unworthy of a British minister, and which the Chief of a tribe of savages would have been ashamed to acknowledge. They reminded the American minister that they were not judging from events, but how often and earnestly they had warned him of the fatal consequences of his favourite plan. When they had truly foretold the event, they were only laughed at, and told they were speaking in prophecy; was he yet satisfied of the truth of their predictions?

Ignorance, they said, had stamped every step taken during the expedition; but it was the ignorance of the Minister, not of the General; a minister who would venture, sitting in his closet, to direct, not only the general operations, but all the particular movements, of a war carried on in the interior desarts of America, and at a distance of three thousand miles. A junction between Howe and Burgoyne was the object of this expedition; a measure which might be effected without difficulty by sea in less than a month; but the Minister chooses it should be performed by land, and what means does he use for the accomplishment of this purpose?



1777.

purpose? Why truly, said they, as it was necessary for the armies to meet, it might have been reasonably imagined, that the northern army would have advanced to the southward, or the southern to the northward; or if it were intended that they should meet any where about the center, that they would both have set out in those directions about the same time; but the Minister despising such simple and natural means of effecting a junction, dispatches one army from New-York still farther south, and sends the other to follow it from Canada in the same direction; so that if they both continued their course till doomsday, it would be impossible for them to meet.

But the noble Lord, they said, was the implicit slave of report, and the continual dupe to the false informations of men, who were interested in his deception; men who profited of the common calamities of England and America. Thus on one day we had only a trilling mob to quell; nine tenths of the people were not only zealously but violently attached to government; and yet, most strange to tell, this vast majority of the people, as if loyalty had deprived them of all the powers and properties of men, suffered themselves to be fleeced and driven like sheep, by that ragged handful of their own rabble. The next day, when we were to ransack Europe for troops, and exhaust Great Britain to maintain them, the Americans were suddenly become numerous and powerful. The delusion was then become highly contagious; and they were to be brought to their senses by nothing short of the exertion of the whole strength of this country. Again, we were told that the Americans were all cowards; a grenadier's cap was sufficient to throw whole provinces into panics; it seemed, however, odd enough, that 55,000 men, with an immense naval force, should be sent to reduce poltrons. Will the minister now venture to say, that the gallant  
army

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army at Saratoga, with a noble artillery, and conducted by officers of the most distinguished merit, were compelled to the disgrace of resigning their arms and their liberty, by a wretched contemptible rabble without spirit or discipline? But such, they said, was the misrepresentation and falsehood, which partly intended to impose upon the nation, and partly operating upon the wretched folly, credulity, and incapacity of the ministers themselves, had already led to the loss of America, and to our present state of calamity and disgrace; and which, under the fostering influence of that preverse blindness and obstinacy, which have been so long the bane, and at the same time the only distinction of our public counsels, would terminate in the final destruction of this country.

The time and occasion did not serve for bold words or lofty language on the side of administration. The ministers, indeed, were sufficiently humbled. The noble Lord at the head of affairs, acknowledged that he was unfortunate. He, at the same time, justified his intentions; and declared that he was and would be ready, whenever the general voice of the House desired it, to enter into an explanation of his conduct, and a defence of his measures. He also declared, that no man from the beginning had wished more earnestly for peace than he had done himself, nor would do more to obtain it now; and that if the laying down his place and his honours could accomplish that wished for purpose, he would gladly resign them all. He said, that he had been dragged to his place against his will; but that however disagreeable it might be, whilst he continued in possession, he would support it to the best of his power. He concluded by observing, (the House being then in a committee of supply) that whatever their future determination as to peace or war might be, it was necessary they should grant the supplies which were now demanded; as, if even
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1777.

a cessation of arms should take place, the expences must still continue, until the armies were brought home and discharged or reduced.

The American Minister declared, that he was ready to submit his conduct in planning the late expedition to the judgment of the House. If it appeared impotent, weak, and ruinous, let the censure of the House fall upon him. He was ready to abide it, as every Minister who had the welfare of his country at heart, should at all times, he said, be ready to have his conduct scrutinized by his country. But having also said something, of wishing that the House would not be over hasty in condemnation, that they would suspend their judgment on the conduct both of the General and of the Minister relative to this unhappy event; hoping that the conduct of both would appear free from guilt; these expressions, or some others of the same nature, being considered as tending to criminate, or insinuate blame on the General, were highly resented on the other side, and contributed not a little to that severity of censure which he experienced on this day.

During these transactions in the house of Commons, the business in that of the Lords, abstracted from the supplies, was conducted upon the same ground, and in general with the same effect. The Duke of Richmond had moved for an enquiry into the state of the nation. on the same day that Mr. Fox had made his motion in the house of Commons. The enquiry was also fixed to the same date in both; and the subsequent motions for papers and information made by his grace, corresponded with those in the other House, and were agreed to in the same manner.

On the 5th of December, the Earl of Chatham moved, that copies of orders and instructions to
General

General Burgoyne, relative to the northern expedition, should be laid before the House. The noble Earl introduced his motion with a speech of considerable length, in which he dissected and reprobated several parts of that from the throne without reserve or ceremony; and taking a large sweep into public measures, he seemed to summon all the powers of his eloquence, and all his natural vehemence, to the direct censure of the ministers, and the most unqualified condemnation of their conduct. Among other causes, to which, in this course, he attributed the unhappy change which had taken place in our public affairs, he particularly reprobated, in terms of the greatest bitterness, a court system, which he said, had been introduced and persevered in for the last fifteen years, of loosening and breaking all connection; destroying all faith and confidence; and extinguishing all principle, in different orders of the community. A few men, he said, had got an ascendancy, where no man should have a personal ascendancy; by having the executive powers of the state at their command, they had been furnished with the means of creating divisions, and familiarizing treachery. Thus were obscure and unknown men; men totally unacquainted with public business; pliable, not capable men; and the dregs, or renegades of parties, brought into the highest and most responsible stations; and by such men, was this once glorious empire reduced to its present state of danger and disgrace. Then rising into his usual force of expression: the spirit of delusion, he said, had gone forth---The ministers had imposed on the people---Parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition---False lights had been held out to the country gentlemen---They had been seduced into the support of a most destructive war under the impression, that the land tax would have been diminished by the means of an American revenue. But the visionary phantome, thus conjured up for the

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Motion
in the
House of
Lords by
Lord
Chatham,
relative
to the
northern
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bafest of all purpofes, that of deception, was now about to vanifh.

The debate was long, animated, and well fupported on both fides. The Minifters, though plainly fomewhat deprefsed, defended themfelves with refolution. They faid they knew nothing of the private influence that had been talked of. That it was a topic taken up or laid down by men as it fuited their views. That they never had impofed on the people or on parliament; but communicated fuch information as was true, provided it was fafe. That they had never laid any thing falfe before them; but be the event what it would, they never would repent the vigorous fteps they had taken for afferting the rights of parliament, and the dignity of their country. The queftion being at length put, the motion was rejected on a divifion by a majority of 40 to 19.

The noble Earl then immediately moved for an addrefs to lay before them copies of all the orders or treaties relative to the employment of the favages, acting in conjunction with the Britifh troops againft the inhabitants of the Britifh colonies in North America, with a copy of the inftructions given by General Burgoyne to Colonel St. Leger.

As no meafure had ever been marked with a greater feverity of language, or had excited ftronger appearances of difguft and horror, than that, to which the motion related, the Minifters were accordingly very tender upon the fubject, and could ill difguife the indignation and refentment which they felt, at its being fo frequently and vexatiously brought within obfervation. And as the noble framer of the prefent motion, had been among the foremoft in his cenfures on the fubject, and that the bitterness of his late fpeech was not yet worn off; the matter was taken up with great warmth. The fame arguments ufed to defend it in the Houfe of Commons were

were relied upon in the Lords. The Ministry strongly asserted the justice and the propriety of the measure, on principle and on example. As Lord Chatham had asserted that when he was Minister, he had always declined to make use of so odious an instrument in the last war, though a foreign one, this assertion was flatly contradicted by the King's servants, who said they were able to lay before the House proofs from the records of office, of his having given orders to treat with the savages for their assistance. Appeals were made to the noble Lord who then commanded in America, and had taken his instructions from Mr. Pitt, at that time Secretary of State, whether he had not such in his army, and whether he was not authorised to use them. The Lords of the minority contended, that the case of a foreign war, where the affections of the people are no object, made a difference; and that the French had made use of the same instrument to a much greater degree, which might justify retaliation. The debate was attended with an unusual degree of charge, denial, personality, and acrimony; in which course of painful altercation, a noble Earl, who had lately possessed a principal government in America, both took, and endured no inconsiderable share. The motion was at length thrown out by the previous question, about 11 o'clock at night, the majority being nearly the same as in the foregoing division.

Great complaints were about this time circulated, that the American prisoners in this country, who amounted to several hundreds, were treated with a degree of rigour which fell little short of cruelty. These rumours extended even to France; and occasioned the American deputies in that country, after an unsuccessful attempt to establish a cartel with the British Minister at Paris, to transmit a letter, couched in strong terms of complaint, to the first Lord of the Treasury upon the subject. This letter contained a particular charge, which, though

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we think not to be true in the manner stated, we are sorry not to have seen publicly refuted, viz. that a number of these unhappy people, were now in a state of bondage, on the coasts of Africa, and in the East Indies, who had been compelled to submit to that condition, under the menaces of an immediate and ignominious death. We have some reason to suppose that this charge related more particularly to some of those prisoners who had been taken in Canada, and who being partly terrified by threats, and partly unable to withstand the miseries of their confinement, which were aggravated for the purpose, entered as soldiers into our service, merely as a means of facilitating their escape. Several of these being taken in the act of desertion, and being liable to death by our military laws, which could afford no provision for the force or terror under which they had acted, possibly might have obtained their forfeit lives, on condition of their being sent to garrison some of our forts on the coast of Africa, or of their entering for life into the service of the East India company.

As to the prisoners who were kept in England, their penury and distress was undoubtedly great, and was much increased by the fraud and cruelty of those who were entrusted with the government and supply of their prisons. For these persons, who indeed never had any orders for ill treatment of the prisoners, or countenance in it, having however, not been overlooked with the utmost vigilance, besides their peculiar prejudices and natural cruelty, considered their offices only as lucrative jobs, which were created merely for their emolument. Whether there was not some exaggeration, as usually there is, in these accounts, it is certain, that though the subsistence allowed them by government, would indeed have been sufficient, if honestly administered, to have sustained human nature, in respect to the mere article of food, yet the want of clothes,

clothes, firing, and bedding, with all the other various articles which custom or nature render conducive to health and comfort, became particularly insupportable in the extremity of the winter. In consequence of complaints made by the prisoners, the matter was very humanely taken up in the House of Peers by Lord Abingdon, who moved for accounts relative to their treatment; and soon after, a liberal subscription was carried on in London and other parts with the enlarged spirit which distinguishes this nation, and with only a slight opposition in the beginning, as being officiously supposed a measure not pleasing to Ministry. This subscription, co-operating with a stricter attention on the part of government, provided a sufficient remedy for the evil.

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The loss of the northern army with respect to all future service in the American war, seemed a fatal check to that favourite system of conquest and unconditional submission, which had been so long and so stedfastly persevered in by the court. Nor were other matters relative to the war, much more favourable to the scheme of coercion. The successes on the side of Pennsylvania, though many and considerable, and what in other cases would have been followed by more decisive effects, by no means answered the hopes that were formed on that expedition; nor did the present state of affairs there, indicate any such future advantage, as might countervail the loss in the other. The resources in Germany were nearly exhausted. Men were not only procured with difficulty, but one of the great powers, actually refused a passage through a skirt of his dominions, to a body of those which were already in the British service. Although this difficulty was evaded, at the expence of a long circuitous march, and much loss of time; it became however evident, from that and other circumstances, that the utmost which could be expected in future from that coun-

1777. country, would be to recruit the German forces already in America.

Under these disagreeable circumstances with respect to America, the aspect of affairs was becoming every day more lowering and dangerous in Europe. Indeed the conduct of the House of Bourbon had been long so unequivocal, that nothing less than that sort of blindness, in which the mind is too liable to be involved by the eagerness of a favourite pursuit, could have permitted the possibility even of a doubt, as to their present views, and ultimate designs. Yet notwithstanding all these difficulties, losses, and dangers, the system of conquest, or of compelling the Americans by force to a return of their duty, was so strongly supported, and so firmly adhered to, that it seems to have been still determined in spite of loss and misfortune, to persevere in it to the last, and that even if it should be thought expedient to offer terms of peace, on which point there seemed to be some difference among the Ministers, yet all agreed, that whatever terms might be held out with the one hand, should be enforced with the sword by the other.

For the support of this determination, a measure of no small difficulty became, however, indispensably necessary. This was to establish such a body of new troops at home, as would not only supply the place of Burgoyne's army, but also help to fill up the wide chasms, which death, wounds, sickness and desertion, had made in the remaining force in America, by sending out full and complete regiments, to replace those who had suffered most in the war. For the sending any more of the old battalions from England or Ireland, without the leaving of some corps in their place, equal at least to them in point of number, was a measure which would have met with a violent opposition in both kingdoms. Nor can it possibly be supposed that the Mi-

Ministers, however they found it necessary to disguise or conceal their sentiments, could be free from apprehension that the time was approaching, when our home force would be necessary for our home defence. 1777.

But although the necessity of raising a considerable body of new troops, was, on this ground of policy, sufficiently evident, the means of accomplishing that purpose were by no means so obvious. The late misfortune, and the little apparent room for hope which now remained for bettering our condition by force, afforded no encouragement for an application to parliament on the subject. It was evident indeed, that the Ministers, by the hastiness and length of the prorogation, and by some feeling expressions which dropped from one of them, chose at that time as little parliamentary conversation about America as possible; nor did they wish to renew it, until they should be able to afford better prospects of their strength and means of prosecuting the war, than at that time appeared.

In these circumstances, it was thought fitting to hazard an experiment on the zeal of those persons and parties, who had all along shewn the greatest eagerness in the prosecution of the American war; an experiment which would afford them also an opportunity of testifying their attachment and loyalty to the crown beyond the measure of parliamentary supply. By this means it was hoped that such a body of troops might be raised, without any previous application to parliament, and with the flattering appearance of saving expence in the first instance to the public, as would answer the desired purpose.

These expectations were not altogether ill founded. But as the measure carried an unconstitutional appearance, and might be made liable to the charge

1777. charge of interfering with the rights of parliament; and of violating some of those restrictions which it had been found necessary to lay on the prerogative; besides the motives just now assigned; some considerable management was necessary as to the time and manner of making the experiment. For if it had been attempted during the actual sitting of parliament, it would not only have the whole weight of opposition to encounter whilst it was yet in embryo, and whilst the uncertainty of success would prevent its being supported with any spirit; but it could not be foreseen how far their example, and arguments might, in a matter of a new and doubtful nature, have extended beyond their own pale. Upon these accounts it was supposed, that the Minister thought it prudent, not only to make the experiment during the recess, but to render that longer than usual, in order to afford time for discovering its operations and effect before it underwent any discussion; being well satisfied, that when a business was once accomplished, any objections that were then made to the propriety or principle of the measure would be of little avail.

The towns of Manchester and Liverpool offer to raise each a regiment.

Some men of rank and influence, who had either adopted the measure from a conviction of its expedience and propriety, or who, upon advice, had engaged in its support and furtherance, used means in those places where their interest lay, both to sound the disposition of the people, and to give it that direction which was necessary for the purpose. The towns of Manchester and Liverpool, whether of their own motion, or through application, were the leaders in this business, which they engaged in with the greatest fervour, and immediately sent an offer to court to raise each a regiment of a thousand men. In other places, public meetings of towns, countries, and great corporate bodies, were encouraged, at which resolutions were proposed for the general levying of men for the service.

The

The ministers had thoroughly shaken of their panic during the recess. The raising of the new forces not only enabled them again to support the American system, which scarcely before seemed tenable; but it afforded no contemptible testimony, and which in argument was easily advanced to a proof, that their conduct received the full approbation of the people, and that the general sense of the nation went with them in their measures. Thus they were enabled to meet parliament with confidence; and, under so efficacious a support as the public voice and approbation, to brave all enquires into past conduct, as well as into the present state or condition of the nation. 1778.

Indeed the facility with which these enquiries were agreed to in the hour of tribulation and dismay, it is probable, was now sufficiently regretted. But it was hoped, that the spirit which was now raised, and the parliamentary modes of defeating the objects of all enquiry, would take away all effect of the advantage which they had suffered the opposition to obtain over them.

Notwithstanding this smooth state of affairs at home, the ministers were far from being at ease. Majorities and acts of parliament, though possessing wonderful efficacy in their proper place, were neither capable of reclaiming our revolted colonies, nor of preventing the designs of our foreign enemies. It has since appeared from the most undoubted evidence, that administration had for some time been in possession of information from the British Minister at Paris, not only of the negotiation for a commercial treaty between that court and the Americans, but also of another private and confidential treaty, which was conducted with the most profound secrecy, and fraught with matter of the most dangerous nature to this country. How this knowledge is to be reconciled with the public mea-

1778. *fures then pursued, we have no business to examine.*

The Minister acquaints the House that he should lay before them a plan of conciliation with America.

In consequence of the information which the Minister had received of a commercial and private treaty negotiating between France and America, a few days from the meeting of Parliament after the Christmas recess having announced to the house previous to the speaker's quitting the chair, (being then on a committee on the state of the nation) that he should on Tuesday, the 17th, lay before them a plan of conciliation with America; this notice occasioned much conversation, and some animadversion, distinct from the main subject. The opposition declared, that if the noble Lord's intended plan of conciliation, was fair and open, founded in justice, good faith, and right policy, and warranted by the principles of the constitution, it should meet with the most hearty and unreserved concurrence on their side of the House. But they had too much cause for fearing that it would not answer that description; for they could scarcely be persuaded unless the ideas of cruelty and meanness were inseparable,) that the same men who had rejected the most humble petitions and dutiful remonstrances with haughtiness and contempt, could ever consent to hold out any plan that was fairly meant to secure those rights, which they had so long endeavoured to annihilate by the sword.

A young gentleman of great fortune, and of still greater expectations, whose father had first laid or adopted the scheme of American taxation, and who had himself hitherto given some support to the war, upon the same principle, and in the common hope which operated upon so many, of obtaining an effective revenue from the colonies, after explaining the motives for his present conduct in voting with the opposition, which were not founded upon any departure from his former principles and opinions, but entirely owing to the unhappy measures pur-

1778.

pursued by government, which had now reduced those to be merely matters of speculation; he then reprobated with an extraordinary degree of severity the whole conduct of administration, whether with respect to the American business in general, or to the war in particular.

In the course of a very able speech, he deplored the disgrace brought not only upon our arms, but on our counsels, by the ill-fated, rash, and undigested expedition from Canada. He lamented the want of protection to our commerce, the consequent weight of insurance on our merchants, and the declining state of public credit. He hoped a day of retribution would come, when Ministers would be called to a severe account for the disgrace and infamy which they had brought upon their country, by involving it in a war which they were incapable of conducting, and deceiving the nation into an immense expence and great loss, by holding out promises of a revenue which their inability had obliged them to abandon. He sincerely wished that the noble Lord's plan of conciliation might succeed; but he had every reason in the world, he said, to apprehend it would not. A previous confidence between the parties, was the very life and basis of all negociation and treaty. The noble Lord himself would not venture to say, that any such source of accommodation subsisted between Ministers and the ruling powers in America. Nobody was ignorant, he said, that every possible occasion had been given by the present administration, to fix in the breasts of the people of America and their leaders, the most rooted hatred and inveterate rancour. Under such singular circumstances of disappointment and disgrace on one side, and such provocations on the other, he would appeal to the candour of those whose dispositions might lead them to the highest point of expectation, whether there was the most distant prospect of any success from a treaty,

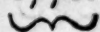
1778.

treaty, which was to be conducted on the part of Great Britain, by men who were universally execrated from one end of the continent of North America to the other.—Men, he said, whose best and sincerest intentions would be only interpreted as lures to ensnare and betray. Under the full influence of these persuasions, he could not but fear, that whatever the noble Lord's intentions might be, his plan would be rejected by America, which would only furnish Ministers with an apology for trying the experiment of one more fatal and disgraceful campaign; after which he would venture to predict, that all further attempts to subdue, or hopes to treat with America would be at an end, and that country irretrievably lost for ever to this.

The Minister refrained from taking any notice of the asperities that had dropped from this gentleman, and only gave a general answer to his opinions, along with those which had been thrown out by others, relative to his proposed scheme of conciliation. He said, that as he never meant to negotiate away the rights of this country, to procure himself any temporary convenience; so he never wished to encroach on those of America. His own private opinion never varied; but if his proposition should not meet with the approbation of the majority in that House, or that it should undergo any alteration, in either event he would gladly acquiesce. As to the particular favourable disposition of America towards individuals or parties in that or the other House, he said, that by every thing that had yet appeared, all men and all parties seemed equally obnoxious to them; and whenever propositions came to be made, he was inclined to believe, that the object of the colonies would not be by whom they were made, but whether they were such as answered their expectations. For his own part, he was ready and willing to resign the disagreeable task to whoever was thought better qualified, and was

was contented to accept of it. He wished as sincerely for pacification as any one person in either House; and so the end was obtained, it was a matter of no consequence to him by whom, or in what manner it was accomplished.

1778.



A petition of uncommon energy, signed by 5,400 inhabitants of the county of Norfolk, including the city of Norwich, was presented and read to the Commons on the morning of the day that the Minister was to lay open his conciliatory plan with America. In this piece, a comprehensive view was taken of the conduct of public affairs, and the effect of public measures, both at home and abroad. Among others, the measure of raising men and money by free gifts and contributions for the service of the crown, a purpose for which, they say, they were called upon themselves, in a manner equally alarming, by persons of great power and rank in his Majesty's service, receives the most explicit marks of their disapprobation.

Petition
from the
county of
Norfolk.

The noble Lord at the head of affairs, however little satisfied he might be with the censures passed or implied in this petition upon public conduct and measures, could find nothing in it to militate with any propositions that tended to a conciliation with America. He introduced his conciliatory propositions with a recital of his creed in all American matters. In that he asserted, that peace had at all times been his governing principle. That with that object in view, his conduct had been uniform, and his measures consistent; but that events had been in general exceedingly untoward. That he had always known, that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue; that there were many sorts of taxes which could not at all be laid on that country; and of those that could, few would prove worth the charge of collection. That although the Stamp Act was the most judicious that

Feb. 17.

Lord
North
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1778. that could be chosen for that purpose; yet, notwithstanding the high rate at which that duty had been formerly estimated, he had not believed its produce would have been a very considerable object.

That he accordingly, had never proposed any tax on the Americans; he found them already taxed when he unfortunately came into administration. That as his principle of policy was to have as little discussion on these subjects as possible, and to keep the affairs of America out of parliament; so, as he had not laid, he did not think it adviseable for him to repeal the tea tax; nor did he look out for any particular means of enforcing it.

With respect to the coercive acts, he said they were called forth by, and appeared necessary in, the distemper of the time; but that in the event they had produced effects which he never intended, nor could possibly have expected. That immediately upon the discovery of that failure, he proposed, before the sword was drawn, a conciliatory proposition. His Lordship said he thought at the time, and still continued to think, the terms of that proposition would form the happiest, most equitable, and most lasting bond of union between Great Britain and her colonies. But, that by a variety of discussions a proposition that was originally clear and simple in itself, was made to appear so obscure, as to go damned to America; so that the Congress conceived or took occasion to represent it as a scheme for sowing divisions, and introducing taxations among them in a worse mode than the former, and they accordingly rejected it.

He complained that the events of war in America had turned out very differently from his expectations, and from what he had a right to expect; and that the great and well appointed force sent out, and amply provided for by government, had produced a
very

very disproportioned effect hitherto. That he could not but confess himself exceedingly disappointed at this failure of effect in our military force. He did not mean at that time to condemn, or even to call into question, the conduct of any of our commanders, but he had been disappointed. That Sir William Howe had been in the late actions, and in the whole course of the campaign, not only in the goodness of troops, and in all manner of supplies, but in point of numbers too, much superior to the American army which opposed him in the field. That General Burgoyne, who was at length overpowered by numbers, had been in numbers, till the affair at Bennington, near twice as strong as the army under General Gates. Considering all these things, the events had been very contrary to his expectation. But to these events, and not to those expectations, he must make his plan conform. 1778.

As the foundation of his conciliatory scheme, he proposed the bringing in two bills under the following heads: "A bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his Majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America." And "A bill to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America".

The noble Lord observed, that it was intended to appoint five commissioners, and to endow them with very extensive powers. They should be enabled to treat with the Congress by name, as if it were a legal body, and so far to give it authenticity, as to suppose its acts and concessions binding on all America. To treat with any of the provincial assemblies upon their present constitution, and with any individuals in their present civil capacities or military

1778.

tary commands, with General Washington, or any other officer. That they should have a power to order a suspension of arms. To suspend the operation of all laws. And to grant all sorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. That they should have a power of restoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of its ancient constitution, as it stood before the troubles; and in any of those where the King nominated the governors, council, judges, and other magistrates, to nominate such at their discretion, until his further pleasure was known.

That as the deficiency of powers in the former commissioners had been objected to, so the Congress had raised a difficulty, on pretence of the non-admission of their title to be independent states. To remove that difficulty, should the Americans now claim their independence on the outlet, he would not insist on their renouncing it, until the treaty had received its final ratification by the King and parliament of Great-Britain. That the commissioners should be instructed to negotiate for some reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire when re-united; but to take away all pretence for not terminating this unhappy difference, the contribution was not to be insisted on as a *sine qua non* of the treaty; but that if the Americans should refuse so reasonable and equitable a proposition, they were not to complain, if hereafter they were not to look for support from that part of the empire to whose expence they had refused to contribute.

He observed it might be asked, if his sentiments had been always such with respect to taxation and peace as he had now stated them to be, why he had not made this proposition at an earlier period? To this he answered, his opinion had ever been, that the moment of victory was the proper season for offering terms of concession. And with an eye to several

several reflections which had of late been thrown upon him by the tory party, and hoping perhaps to obviate some part of that greater weight of censure which he now apprehended from that quarter, he declared, that, for his part, he never had made a promise which he did not perform, or receive any information which he did not communicate. 1778.

The Minister concluded a long, able, and eloquent speech, which kept him full two hours up, by saying, that on the whole his concessions were from reason and propriety, not from necessity; and that we were in a condition to carry on the war much longer. We might raise many more men, and had many more men ready to send; the navy was never in greater strength, the revenue but little sunk, and a few days would shew that he should raise the funds for the current year at a moderate rate. (But he submitted the whole, with regard to the propriety of his past and present conduct to the judgment of the House.

A dull melancholy silence for some time succeeded to this speech. It had been heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation to any part, from any description of men, or any particular man in the House. Astonishment, dejection, and fear, overclouded the whole assembly. Although the Minister had declared, that the sentiments he expressed that day, had been those which he always entertained; it is certain, that few or none had understood him in that manner; and he had been represented to the nation at large, as the person in it the most tenacious of those parliamentary rights which he now proposed to resign, and the most remote from the submissions which he now proposed to make. It was generally therefore concluded, that something more extraordinary and alarming had happened than yet appeared,

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1778. ed, which was of force to produce such an apparent change in measures, principles, and arguments.

The bills underwent great alterations in their progress both through the house and committee. Whether it proceeded from a change of opinion, or from whatever other cause, the powers to be entrusted with the commissioners were much narrowed from what had been at first held out by the minister. The opposition complained that parliament had divested itself effectually of those powers; but instead of their being communicated to those persons who were to negotiate a treaty at so great a distance, where immediate conclusions might be absolutely necessary, a circumstance which alone afforded the ostensible motive for their being demanded or granted, they were reserved at home in the hands of the ministers, to be hereafter detailed as they thought proper. This was easily accomplished by the means of the crown lawyers, under the colour of making those powers agree with instructions, whose nature and purpose were totally unknown to all persons excepting themselves and the ministers. Some of the opposition complained greatly of this conduct, which they said was totally subversive of the great principle of the bill, viz. That commissioners upon the spot would be better able to determine what was immediately fitting to be done, than parliament or any other body could, at the distance of three thousand miles; but the expunging from the bill of those discretionary powers which were intended for the commissioners, rendered it, they said, with respect to its avowed purpose, little more than a piece of waste paper: so that as it then stood, its real effect could be only to vest in the ministers a suspending power out of parliament, under the form and colour of instructions to commissioners, instead of the open and usual mode of carrying it by bill through both houses. The danger of the precedent, in this view of the business, and the competence

tence of those who were to be entrusted with such a power, afforded sufficient ground for animadversion; but the eager hope of attaining the great point in view, subdued all other considerations, and prevented any great degree of opposition. 1778.

Although the third reading of the bills brought out a considerable share of mixed debate and conversation, yet they were both passed without a division. March 2.

The time at length arrived when France was to throw off the mask entirely with respect to America, and to realize all those predictions, which had been so long held out, and so frequently repeated by the minority, and which had, till lately, afforded a constant topic of ridicule to ministers and majorities. It had been repeatedly said, that the House of Bourbon would not support the Americans on the double account, that it would be teaching an evil lesson against themselves, and which might be too soon practised, to their own colonies, and that the establishment of an independent state and rising empire in the new world, would be dangerous to their future interests both in Europe and America. France declares in favour of America.

On the day previous to the laying of the declaration from France before both Houses, the minister gave notice to the Commons, that he should have occasion on the following to present a message from the Throne to that House. Mr. Grenville replied, that he believed the subject of the message was already anticipated by the House; and, in order that gentlemen might be truly, as well as fully informed, in a matter of so great importance, before they tied themselves down to any particular measures by an answer, he would move for an address, "to lay before the House, copies of all communications from his Majesty's ambassador at the court of France, or the French ambassador at this court, touching any treaty of alliance, con- Mar. 16.
"fede-

1778. "federacy, or commerce, entered into between
 "that court and the revolted colonies in North
 "America."

The minister directly moved the previous question, giving as a reason, that the exposure of the papers demanded, would be a most unpardonable and pernicious act of treachery, to those, who at the greatest risque, had communicated secret intelligence to government. Mr. Grenville offered to prevent an effect which he abhorred, by inserting the words "or extracts," after, copies, in the motion; but the minister insisted that no amendment could be received after the previous question had been moved. This conduct was, however, reprobated with so much indignation on the other side, and represented as an act of quibbling and chicane, so unworthy of, and unfitting for that place, that the minister withdrew his motion, and the amendment was received. The previous question being then again moved, the minister carried it upon a division by a majority of 231 to 146.

Lord North delivers a message to the House of Commons from his Majesty.

On the following day, the Royal message, accompanied by the French declaration, signed, on the 13th, by M. de Noalles, the ambassador from that court, were presented to the Commons by the minister. The former, after mentioning the matter of fact, with respect to the notification, acquainted them, that in consequence of that offensive communication, his Majesty had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from the court of France. Then stating the justice and good faith of his Majesty's conduct towards foreign powers, and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, he trusts, that he shall not stand responsible for the disturbance of that tranquillity, if he should find himself called upon to resent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms,

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contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign power in Europe. It concluded with a declaration, that, "his Majesty, relying, with the firmest confidence on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it shall become necessary, all the force and resources of his kingdoms; which he trusts will be found adequate to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country." 1778.

The minister moved an address to the Throne, which, besides echoing back and confirming the principal positions in the message, declares the highest indignation and greatest resentment at the unjust and unprovoked conduct of France, which, in another part, it calls "that restless and dangerous spirit of ambition and aggrandizement, which has so often invaded the rights and threatened the liberties of Europe." It concludes with the strongest assurances of the most zealous assistance and support; and a declaration of the firmest confidence, that, in every demonstration of loyalty to his Majesty, and of love to their country, his faithful subjects would vie with each other; and that no considerations would divert or deter them from standing forth in the public defence, and from sustaining, with a steady perseverance, any extraordinary burdens and expences, which should be found necessary for enabling his Majesty to vindicate the honour of his crown, and to protect the just rights and essential interests of these kingdoms.

The Minister moves for an address to the throne.

Mr. Baker moved, that an amendment, to the following purport, should be inserted after the words, "assurances of support," in the address, viz. "hoping and trusting that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to remove from his counsels those ministers, in whose conduct, from experience of

Mr Baker proposes an amendment.

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1778. the pernicious effects of their past measures, his people can place no confidence in the present momentous situation of public affairs. Sir George Yonge warmly seconded the amendment, and was himself as warmly supported. The principal ground of argument was, the folly and danger of committing the conduct of the most arduous war, in which this country was ever involved, to those men, who had already shewn themselves totally unequal to its government in the most profound quiet and peace; whose pernicious counsels and measures had converted that season of happiness and prosperity into all the horrors and mischiefs of a most unnatural, cruel, and destructive civil war; whose ignorance and incapacity in the management of that war of their own creation, joined to that incorrigible obstinacy, which, disdaining all counsel, and rejecting all warning, were at length the unhappy means, of for ever severing the British empire, and of finally plunging this nation in all its present danger and calamity.

In answer to this, the Minister declared his fixed and unalterable resolution, that in the present situation of public affairs, he would keep his place at all events. He said, that the interest of the empire, no less than his own pride and sense of honour, now rendered his continuance in office absolutely necessary. It would be a disgrace, which he was determined not to incur, to abandon the helm, while the ship of state was tossed about in a storm, until he had brought her safely into port. He could see but little foundation for the present public alarm; the fall of the stocks, he said, was merely the effect of that sudden panic, which was the usual concomitant of a beginning of a war. The apparent backwardness to fill the present loan, he, however, attributed rather to the greatness of the national debt, than to the mere approach of a war. Great Britain had always been so punctual in the payment
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of the interest due to her creditors, that she could never want money for the public service. The dread of an invasion, he said, was a mere bugbear; and if it should take place, the nation would have but little reason to be apprehensive for the consequences. Our navy never was, at the commencement of a war, in so flourishing a condition as at present; the new levies were nearly compleated; and that the public might be rendered entirely easy on the subject of invasion, his Majesty intended to recur to that constitutional source of defence, which was so great a favourite with the other side of the House, by drawing out and embodying the militia. He concluded, that the insult offered by France was of the most disgraceful nature; that as he knew the honour of the nation was dear to every gentleman in that House, so he trusted there was not a man in it who would not risque his life and fortune to wipe of the stain it had received; and that consequently, no one would refuse to agree to an address, which only went to assure the King, that he should find in his faithful Commons, every support necessary to maintain the honour of his people, and the dignity of his crown.

The question being at length put, at half past two in the morning, the amendment was rejected, and the original address accordingly carried upon a division, by a majority of 263 to 113.

The arrival of General Burgoyne from America, with some peculiar circumstances accompanying or consequent of that event, served, all together, to cause a revival of the business relative to the northern expedition, and seemed to indicate such an accession of new matter of investigation, as might possibly keep parliament together longer than had been expected. That once favourite General, soon discovered, upon his return, that he was no longer an object of court favour, or of ministerial coun-

General
Bur-
gogne
arrives
from
America.

1778. countenance. He was, in the first instance, refused admission to the royal presence, and from thence experienced all those marks of being in disgrace, which are so well understood, and so quickly perceived, by the retainers and followers of courts.

Under those circumstances of disgrace and interdiction, a court of enquiry was appointed; but the general officers reported, that, in his then situation, as a prisoner on parole to the Congress, under the convention—they could not take cognizance of his conduct. This spirited officer then demanded a court martial—which on the same grounds was refused. He then declared himself under a necessity of throwing himself upon parliament, for a public enquiry into his conduct. The business was not, however taken up, as he expected, by any side of the House at his first appearance. Possibly the lateness of the season, and the fear of the determination of a ministerial majority, might deter the opposition from any steps to that purpose. Mr. May 26. Vyners, however, removed any difficulty that occurred on either side, by moving for a committee of the whole House, to consider of the state and condition of the army which surrendered themselves prisoners, on convention, at Saratoga, in America; and also by what means Lieutenant General Burgoyne, who commanded that army, and was included in that convention, was released, and is now in England.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Wilkes, and an amendment moved by Mr. Fox, for the insertion of the following words, immediately after the word “consider” “of the transactions of the northern army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and”—The motion and amendment afforded that opportunity to the General which he was seeking for, of explaining the nature and state of his situation, and the particular circumstances of that per-

persecution, as he termed it, under which, he described himself, as most injuriously suffering. 1778.

The General seconded the motion and the amendment, as tending to that general enquiry into his conduct, which could alone vindicate his character and honour, from the aspersions of ministerial writers, and all the other means which had been used, as well during his absence, as since his arrival, to injure both. He entered into a justification of his conduct with respect to the cruelties charged to the savages, and a vindication of his regular forces, from the inhumanities attributed to them. He insisted that he had not exceeded his orders, and that they were positive and peremptory. That the House had been designedly misled to his prejudice in the former enquiry upon this subject, by laying before them his original plan for the Canada expedition, and leaving them in the opinion that all its parts had been punctually complied with; although the Minister who laid it before them, knew the contrary to be the fact, and that some of its most material clauses had been erased. He observed that the papers which had been laid before them, were in some respects deficient, and in others superfluous. Among the latter he particularly complained of the exposure of a private and confidential letter, which could answer no public purpose, and at the same time evidently tended to his personal prejudice. And among the former, the withholding of several others, which were not in the same predicament, some of which would have removed the ill impression and effect caused by that letter, and others would have afforded explanations of several material parts of his conduct, and rendered a long train of correspondence which was laid before them unnecessary. But he complained still more of the disclosure of a paper of the most secret nature, containing his thoughts upon the manner of conducting the war from the side of

General Burgoyne seconded the motion of Mr. Vyner, with Mr. Fox's amendment, and enters into a justification of his conduct.

1778. Canada. Upon this part of the subject he exclaimed with great energy, "what officer will venture hereafter to give his opinion upon measures or men when called upon by a Minister, if his confidence, his reasonings, and his preferences, are to be thus invidiously exposed, to create jealousies and differences among his fellow officers, and at last to put an imposition upon the world, and make him responsible for the plan as well as the execution of a hazardous campaign."

After stating and refuting a number of calumnies, which, from interested or malevolent purposes, had been industriously propagated against him, he said, that under such circumstances of the greatest injury to the reputation of one of their members, together with that of his character having already been brought into question before them, and his direct assertion, that the information which the House had then gone upon was incomplete and fallacious, he knew not what description of men could justly refuse, to him personally, a new and full enquiry.

He put it strongly to the feelings of his auditors, and to make it individually their own case, the situation of an injured and persecuted man, debarred, by an interdiction, from the possibility of vindicating himself to his Sovereign, and put by, if not inevitably precluded from the judgment of a military tribunal, if thus, disgraced at court, and cut off from resource in the line of his profession, he should also at last, in his final appeal to the justice and equity of his country, find himself disappointed in the only possible means of justification that remained, by the refusal of a parliamentary investigation of a measure of state, with which the rectitude or criminality of his conduct was inseparably blended. After applying this matter particularly and forcibly to his brother officers in parliament, as a common cause of the profession, from the discour-

age.

1778.
 ragement and injury which the service must suffer under the establishment of such a precedent, and various other considerations applied to different parts of the House, he wound up the whole of that part of the subject, by declaring, that he waved an appeal to private sentiments, and desired the motion to be considered as a call upon the public duty of the House; and he required and demanded, in his place, as a representative of the nation, a full and impartial enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the northern expedition from Canada.

The American Minister declared his concern for the exposure of the private letter, which he attributed to accident, or official mistake. As to the General's not having access to his Sovereign, he said there were various precedents for the refusal, until his conduct had undergone a military enquiry, which could not yet be done. And concluded, that as military men were the natural and proper judges of the subject, he could not see the propriety of any interference by parliament in the business.

The question being at length put on Mr. Fox's amendment, it was rejected on a division, by a majority of 144 to 95. And, the main question, after some unusual warmth of altercation, was set by at a late hour by the previous question, which was carried without a division.

A few days after was brought to a conclusion, this long, tedious, and exceedingly laborious session of Parliament. A session, in which a greater number of the most interesting and important public questions were agitated, although not generally decided upon, than any other, perhaps, within the space of a century past. And which also afforded more frequent room for expectation and hope to the people, with respect to the conduct of public affairs, than any that we remember.

C H A P. XVIII.

Then Ch. XVIII

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1780.

(Sullivan

VIII.

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State of the hostile armies in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood during the winter. Hard condition of the brave army under the convention of Saratoga. Suspension of the treaty by the congress, until a ratification is obtained from the court of Great-Britain. Predatory expeditions from Philadelphia and Rhode Island. Draught of the Conciliatory Bills published in America. Effect produced by it on both sides. Conduct, and resolutions of the Congress. Siméon Deane arrives with the French treaties. Sir Henry Clinton arrives to take the command of the army at Philadelphia, in the room of General Sir William Howe, who returns to England. Arrival of the Commissioners for restoring peace, &c. Letter to the Congress. Secretary to the Commissioners refused a passport. Answer returned by the Congress to the Commissioners. Further particulars relative to the proposed negotiation. Evacuation of Philadelphia. Difficulties encountered by the British army in their march across the Jerseys. General Washington crosses the Delaware. Battle near Monmouth. Gen. Lee, tried by a court martial, and suspended. British army pass over to Sandy Hook Island, and are conveyed by the fleet to New York. Toulon Squadron arrive on the coast of America. Appear before Sandy Hook, where they cast anchor. Alarm, and preparations at Sandy Hook and New York. Departure of the French fleet. Arrival of reinforcements to Lord Howe. French fleet appear before Rhode Island. Defensive preparations by General Sir Robert Pigot. Invasion of that island meditated by the Americans, to second the operations of the French. Lord Howe sails to the relief of Rhode Island. D'Estaing, quits the harbour and puts to sea, to meet the British squadron. Fleets separated, at the point of engaging, by a violent storm. Capt. Raynor, in the Isis, bravely engages a French man of war of 74 guns. D'Estaing returns to Rhode Island, and proceeds from thence to Boston. Is pursued by Lord Howe. Gen. Sullivan lands in Rhode Island. Invests the British posts. American army greatly disconcerted by D'Estaing's departure. Sullivan retreats, and at length totally quits the island. Lord Howe, finding D'Estaing's squadron so strongly secured in Nantasket Road, as to render an attack impracticable, returns from Boston.

1778.

FROM this war of words and opinions in the old world, we are led to a war of deeds and arms in the new. The one, notwithstanding the

sup-

This Chapter follows in part the language of

Ch. XII of The Disputes that are, &c. Boston.

1782. [6366. 8. Vol. II]

supposed summary decisiveness of its nature, being little more conclusive than the other. The hostile armies at Philadelphia and Valley Forge, passed the severity of the winter, within a few miles of each other, in great quiet. The assailants, however, contrary to the general course and circumstance of war, had the advantage of a capital city, and that a fine one, for their quarters; whilst the native army was under a necessity of enduring all the extremity of the season, under a hutted camp in the open field. Notwithstanding this great advantage in point of ease and convenience, the lines and redoubts with which it was found necessary to cover the city of Philadelphia, did not permit the British or auxiliary forces to rust in their military habits, or to grow languid in the exercise of their military duties. Upon the whole, the army was well supplied and healthy.

1778.

In the mean time, the gallant and unfortunate army, that had been under a necessity of submitting to the terms of the convention at Saratoga, met with great and unexpected delays and difficulties in respect to their return to Europe, and underwent many grievous vexations, in that station which had been allotted for their reception in the neighbourhood of Boston. The former of these, however, opened the great ground of grievance, as the succeeding could not otherwise have been of any considerable duration. Notwithstanding the enmity which unhappily prevails between the now disjointed parts of the British nation, it affords us no satisfaction in treating this subject, that truth and justice compel us, strongly to condemn the conduct of the Congress; who seem, upon this occasion, to have departed widely from that system of fairness, equity, and good faith, so essential to new States, and which had hitherto appeared, in a considerable degree, to have been the guide of their actions.

It

1778.

It seems to have been rather unlucky, at least in point of time, that a requisition for some deviation from the terms of the convention, had been made by the British commanders. This was for the embarkation of the convention troops, either at the Sound, near New York, or at Rhode Island, instead of Boston, which was the place appointed for their departure to Europe. And in consequence of the expectation entertained, that this proposal would have been complied with, the transports for the conveyance of the troops were assembled at Rhode Island. The Congress, however, not only refused to comply with the requisition, but made it a ground of a pretended suspicion, that the measure was proposed, merely to afford an opportunity to the convention troops to join their fellows, with an intention then of making some pretence for evading or breaking the terms of the capitulation, and continuing to act in America, to the great detriment and danger of the common cause. To strengthen this colour of suspicion, they pretended, that the 26 transports which were provided at Rhode Island, were insufficient for the conveyance of above 5,600 men, in a winter voyage, to Europe; and, that in the present state of things, with respect to provisions, both in the British fleet and army, it was scarcely possible that they could have been victualled for so long a voyage, and so great a number, in so short a time.

Congress
breaks
the con-
vention of
Saratoga.

In the mean time, great complaints having been made, by the British officers near Boston, of the badness of the quarters with which they had been provided, and which they represented, as being neither conformable to their expectation, rank, or to the terms of the capitulation, the sense and construction of some strong expostulation which was made by General Burgoyne, in a letter of complaint upon the subject, was wrested by the Congress to a direct declaration, that the convention
had

had been broken on their part, by a violation of its conditions. This they represented as a matter of the most serious and alarming nature; which indicated a full intention in the British General and army, to consider the convention as dissolved, by this supposed violation of it which was charged on their side, as soon as they got without the limits of their power; and a declaration of the sort now made, under the present circumstances of that army, would appear, they said, no small public justification of their future conduct, in acting as if they were in no degree bound, when at large, by a capitulation, which they had formerly disavowed under restraint. 1778.

Some paltry resolutions which were passed, as to the soldiers not having faithfully delivered up all their accoutrements, were of so shameful a nature, as to be highly disgraceful to the Congress; and seemed strongly to indicate, that they were ready to grasp at any pretence, however weak or futile, by which they could evade the terms of the convention, without incurring the charge of a direct breach of public faith.

It was in vain that the General explained the intention, as well as the construction of that passage in his letter, which went no farther than to a well founded complaint, and a demand of redress pursuant to the terms of the convention. It was to as little purpose that his officers, in order to remove this new difficulty, respectively signed their parole, which they had hitherto refused doing, until they could obtain redress in the article of quarters, and which was not at any time granted. The General even offered to pledge himself, that notwithstanding the injurious suspicion entertained of his own honour and that of his officers, they would still join with him in signing any writing or instrument that might be thought necessary, for strengthening, confirming,

1778.

firming, or renewing, the validity of the convention.

Jan. 8.

But the Congress were inexorable. It was easily seen, that the measure which they had adopted was not so lightly taken as to be easily given up; and that explanations and securities could produce no effect on their determination. They had passed a resolution from which they never receded, that the embarkation of General Burgoyne and his army should be suspended, until a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention at Saratoga should be properly notified by the court of Great-Britain to Congress. Although the treaties between France and America were not at that time concluded, it does not seem impossible, that the councils of that court had some considerable operation upon the conduct of the Congress in this extraordinary transaction. Perhaps being so closely pressed as they were, by a part only of the King's forces, then in actual possession of the most considerable of their cities, for magnitude, wealth, and commanding situation, they thought, that suffering those convention troops to be sent to Europe, from whence they might be easily replaced, would entirely turn against them the scale of war; and therefore, they chose to sacrifice their reputation, by an act never excusable, rather than their Being at this critical hour.

Some successful predatory expeditions into the Jerseys, and on the Delaware, with the surprize of a party of the enemy (who suffered no inconsiderable loss in men) on the Pennsylvania side, by Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, were the only military operations which distinguished the remaining administration of General Sir William Howe in the command of the army. The loss of the Americans in these expeditions, and in some others, which were undertaken from Rhode Island towards the end of May, was exceedingly great, both with respect

spect to public and private property. Ships, boats, 1778.
houses, places of worship, stores of all sorts, and of
whatever nature, whether public or private; in a
word, every thing useful to man that was liable to
the action of fire, was in some places consumed by
it. The officers, however, attributed some of the
enormities, with respect to the burning of private
houses, to the licence and rage of the soldiers, and
declared them to be entirely contrary to their in-
tentions and orders.

The Americans, as usual, made the severest
charges of cruelty, many of which we hope to
be unfounded, against the troops employed in
these expeditions. Particularly the denial of quar-
ter, and the slaughtering men in cold blood,
several of whom, they said, neither had arms in
their hands, nor were in any military capacity.
They also complained, (on the Rhode Island side,
where the charges were stronger made) as a less
cruel, though not more defensible act of in-
justice, the carrying off the peaceable inhabitants of
the country, and detaining them as prisoners of war,
until they should at some time or other be exchang-
ed, for an equal number of soldiers taken on their
side in arms. And although it was replied to this
complaint, that as by their laws, every inhabitant
from 16 to 60, was liable to be called upon to take
up arms and was therefore to be considered and
treated at all times as a soldier, whether he was
found in actual service or not, we can by no means
think the reasoning included in this answer satisfac-
tory or conclusive. Upon the whole, even if the
treaty between France and America had not un-
happily rendered all hope of success from the pre-
sent conciliatory system hopeless, these predatory
irritating expeditions would have appeared pecu-
liarly ill timed and unlucky. Though strongly and
warmly recommended by many here as the most
effectual mode of war, we scarcely remember an in-

1778.

stance in which they have not been more mischievous than useful to the grand objects, either of reducing, or of reconciling the colonies.

General Washington prepares for a vigorous campaign.

During these transactions, neither the Congress nor General Washington, omitted any means or preparation for a vigorous campaign; whilst both, in their public acts, boldly held out to the people the hope of its being the last, and of their driving the British forces entirely out of America. The General, having now proved the submission and patience of his army in their long winter encampment, struck off all the superabundant baggage both of men and officers, to the closest line of necessity, and ventured upon every other reform, which could render them agile in service, and effective in action. He also tried the influence of his own name and character, by a public letter to the farmer's of the Middle colonies, to request their providing and fattening cattle for the service of the army in the ensuing campaign. The Congress, among their other attentions to the war, issued a resolution, strongly urging the young gentlemen of the different colonies to raise a body of light cavalry, to serve at their own expence, during the campaign; offering them such allurements and honorary distinctions in the service, as were calculated to reconcile that order of men, to the restraints and duties of a military life, in the simple rank and character of private volunteers.

A rough draught of the conciliatory bills, as they appeared on the first reading in the House of Commons, was received at New-York by Governor Tryon, about the middle of April, who used all means to circulate them among the people at large of the revolted colonies.

This unexpected measure of Ministry in England, excited equal astonishment and indignation in our

our own army, who thought that nothing could exceed the degradation which they felt in such a concession. The nature and circumstances of the war, and the long course of injuries and losses which had been offered and received, had by this time rendered every individual a partizan in the contest. They had been taught to think, that nothing less than absolute conquest on their side, or the most unconditional submission on the other, could bring it to a conclusion. They blushed at the recollection, and thought their personal honour wounded in the recantation which was now to be made, of all that high language and treatment, which they had been accustomed to hold or to offer to rebels. The disappointment was the greater, as these papers were the substitute to a reinforcement of 20,000 men, which they had expected. If such were the feelings of the British army, it may not be easy to describe those of the numerous body of American refugees, whose passions being irritated to the highest degree, thought they beheld all their public and private hopes, as well as the gratification of their personal resentments, cut off at one blow. The bills were not, however, to produce the effect that was expected or apprehended; and, unhappily, an end was not yet to be put to the calamities of war.

1778.

Great
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indigna-
tion ex-
pressed by
the army
on the
receipt of
the con-
ciliatory
bills.

The mode of circulating these papers, was considered, or represented, by the Americans, as an insidious attempt to divide the people; and the Congress, to shew their contempt of it, ordered them to be immediately published in their Gazettes. General Washington, in answer to Governor Tryon, who had sent him several copies of the draughts, with a request that they might be circulated among the officers and men of his army, enclosed in his letter to him a printed news-paper, in which they had been inserted by the order of the Congress; accompanied by the printed resolutions of that body upon the subject. And Governor Turnbull, upon a similar

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them.

1778.  similar letter and application, observed, that propositions of peace were usually made from the supreme authority of one contending power to the similar authority of the other ; and that the present, was the first instance within his recollection, in which they had ever been addressed to the people at large of the opposite power, as an overture of reconciliation. He proceeded with the following words, " There was a day when even this step, from our then acknowledged parent state, might have been accepted with joy and gratitude ; but that day, sir, is past irrevocably. The repeated rejection of our sincere and sufficiently humble petitions ; the commencement of hostilities ; the inhumanity which has marked the prosecution of the war on your part in its several stages ; the insolence which displays itself on every petty advantage ; the cruelties which have been exercised on those unhappy men, whom the fortune of war has thrown into your hands ; all these are insuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a peace with Great Britain, on any other conditions, than the most absolute perfect independence." He concluded his letter with the following observation upon the restoration of union by a lasting and honourable peace, which he declared to be the ardent wish of every honest American, viz. " The British nation may then, perhaps, find us as affectionate and valuable friends as we now are determined and fatal enemies, and will derive from that friendship more solid and real advantage than the most sanguine can expect from conquest."

April 22. The result of the deliberations, and of several resolutions upon the subject by the Congress, was a declaration, that any man, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with Commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, should be considered and treated as enemies to the United States. That
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the United States, could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any Commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states. And, inasmuch as it appeared to be the design of their enemies, to lull them into a fatal security, they called upon the several states, to use the most strenuous exertions, to have their respective quotas of troops in the field as soon as possible; and that all their militia might be held in readiness to act as occasion should require. All the resolutions upon this subject were unanimously agreed to.

In a few days after, Simeon Deane arrived express from Paris, at York Town, where the Congress had sat since the loss of Philadelphia, with those fatal instruments, which seemed to stamp a seal upon the separation of America from England. He had been conveyed from France in a Royal frigate of 28 guns, appointed for the purpose, and brought with him, for ratification by the Congress, copies of the two treaties, of alliance, and of commerce, which had been concluded between France and the United States. The last of these was the first that had been executed, being signed on the 30th of January; the treaty of alliance was dated the 6th of February. Deane also brought an account of many other matters which were highly pleasing, as well as what related to the history of the negotiation, and of its conclusion.

May 2.
Simeon
Deane
arrives
with the
treaty
between
France
and
America.

The joy and exultation of the Americans upon this occasion, could only be rivalled by their public demonstrations of them. The Congress immediately published a Gazette, which, besides a summary of the general information they had received, exhibited some of the most flattering articles of the treaties, with their own comments upon them, to
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1778. the people; in which the extraordinary equity, generosity, and unparalleled honour, (as they described it) of the French King, were extolled in the highest degree. In this piece, they seemed to count upon Spain as being already a virtual party to the alliance, and to consider the naval force of both nations as united in their cause. They also built much upon the friendship of other great powers, and boasted of the favourable disposition of Europe in general to America.

May 8. About the same time, Gen. Sir Henry Clinton arrived to take the command of the army at Philadelphia, in the room of Sir William Howe; who returned to England, to the great regret of both officers and soldiery in general. In the beginning of June, the three Commissioners from England, being the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnstone, (with whom were joined in the commission, the Commander in Chief, Sir Henry Clinton) arrived in the Delaware.

June 9. The Commissioners immediately dispatched a letter, with the late acts of parliament, a copy of their commission, and other papers, to the President of the Congress; but their Secretary, Dr. Ferguson, who was intended to convey the papers, and to act as an agent for conducting the negotiation upon the spot with the Congress, being refused a passport for that purpose, they were obliged to forward them by common means.

The Commissioners proposed, even at this outset, several concessions and arrangements, which, at an earlier period, would have restored peace and felicity to the whole empire. They offered to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land.—To restore a free intercourse, and to renew the common benefits of naturalization through the several parts of the empire.—To extend every freedom

freedom to trade, that the respective interests on both sides could require.—To agree, that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the General Congress, or of the particular assemblies.—To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation.—To perpetuate the common union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents, from the different states, who should have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or, if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they might be deputed respectively, in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they were deputed.—And, in short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government; so that the British states throughout North America, acting with Great Britain in peace and war, under one common Sovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that was short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.

Although these papers produced very considerable debates, which were renewed on different days, from the 11th to the 17th of June, in the Congress, yet the answer which they then returned, through the medium of their President, Henry Laurens, was sufficiently brief, however conclusive. They observed to the Commissioners, that the acts of the British parliament, the commission from their Sovereign, and their letter, supposed the people of those states to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and were founded on the idea of dependence, which

The Congress sends an answer to the Commissioners.

was

1778.

was totally inadmissible. They informed them, that they were inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which the war originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted. They would therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. But, the only solid proof of that disposition would be, an explicit acknowledgement of the independence of those states, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

Such were the conditions, which an unhappy concurrence of events induced on the one side, and which the operation of the same causes rendered inadmissible on the other. The Congress, at the same time, issued an unanimous approbation of Gen. Washington's conduct in refusing a passport to Dr. Ferguson.

Although the Congress, as a body, did not enter into any litigation with the Commissioners upon the general subject of their mission, yet some of their members, particularly Mr. Drayton, one of the delegates for South-Carolina, and others, perhaps, not officially connected with them, entered the lists of controversy in the public papers, with no small degree of acrimony. For, as the Commissioners seemed to carry along with them an idea, which at the time of their appointment, was endeavoured with great care to be established in England, viz. "that the bulk of the Americans were well affected to the British government, and that the greater part of the remainder were only held in a state of delusion by the Congress," they accordingly, upon this failure of negotiation with that body, directed their future publications, in the manner of appeals to the people at large; seeming, thereby,

thereby, to realize in some degree, the charge so repeatedly made on the other side, that their only object was, under the insidious appearance of conciliation, to excite either a separation amongst the colonies, or the people to tumults against their respective governments. And, as the Congress not only permitted, but affected to forward, the publication of all matters upon the subject, so, the writers we have mentioned, undertook to obviate the effect, which those issued by the Commissioners might have upon the people at large.

1778.

The strongest argument which they held out upon this occasion to the people was, that they had already concluded a solemn treaty with France,* on the footing of, and for the establishment of their independency. That if they now treated with the Commissioners upon the ground of dependence, they should at once break their faith with France, forfeit their credit with all foreign nations, be considered as a faithless and infamous people, and for evermore be cut off from even the hope of foreign succour or resource. At the same time they would be thrown totally on the mercy of those, who had already pursued every measure of fraud, force, cruelty, and deceit for their destruction; as neither the King, the Ministers, nor the Parliament of England, would be under a necessity of ratifying any one condition which they agreed upon with the Commissioners. Or if they even found it necessary to ratify them for present purposes, it would be only to call a new parliament to undo the whole. Nothing, they said, could be trusted to an enemy whom they had already found so faithless, and so obstinately persevering in malice and cruelty. The fraudulent intention of the proposed negotiation, they said, was strongly evinced, by the Commissioners holding out conditions which went far beyond their avowed powers; being neither warranted by

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* For the Treaty see Appendix.

1778.

the commission, nor by the acts of parliament which they presented.

The
Royal
army
evacuates
Philadel-
phia.

If any strong hope of success in the negotiation had remained, the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the consequent retreat of the army to the northward, just at the arrival of the Commissioners, would have completely frustrated them. Commissioners accompanying a retreating army, which was in the act of abandoning the principal advantage of two years war, could not promise themselves a great superiority in any treaty; and the more advantageous the offers which they should make in such circumstances, the more their concessions would be considered as proofs of weakness, not of good-will. This measure was carried into execution on the 18th of June, and the whole British army passed the Delaware on the same day, without interruption or danger, under the excellent dispositions made by the Admiral, Lord Howe, for the purpose.

Wash-
ington
dis-
patches
a force
to observe
Sir Henry
Clinton's
march
through
the
Jerseys.

Washington, having penetrated into the intention of abandoning Philadelphia, had already sent General Maxwell with his brigade to reinforce the Jersey militia, in order to throw every possible obstruction in the way of the British army, so that by impeding their progress, he might himself be enabled to bring up his force in such time, as to profit of those opportunities, which, it was well to be supposed, so long a march through so dangerous a country would have afforded, of attacking them with great advantage. This detached corps and the militia, did not, however, effect any thing more of importance than the breaking down of the bridges; the great superiority of the British force, having obliged them to abandon the strong pass at Mount Holly, without venturing an opposition.

The British army, notwithstanding, encountered much toil, difficulty, and numberless impediments
in

in their march. They were encumbered with an enormous baggage, including provisions; the number of loaded horses and wheel carriages being so great, as to cover an extent of twelve miles, in the narrow line of march, which the nature of the country and roads afforded. This incumbrance so far at least as related to the provision, proceeded however, from the foresight and wisdom of the General, Sir Henry Clinton; who being well aware that the hostility of the country would cut off every source of subsistence from the troops, which was not within their own immediate comprehension, and being also uncertain as to the delays and obstructions which might occur on his march, was too prudent to put the fate of a whole army in any degree of hazard, for the trouble or difficulty that attended the conveyance of a certain and sufficient supply. The heat of the weather, which was then excessive, with the closeness of the narrow roads through the woods, and the constant labour of renewing or repairing bridges, in a country every where intersected with creeks and marshy brooks, were, all together, severely felt by the army.

1778.

From all these causes, its progress was exceedingly slow; and nothing less than these could have accounted, for its spending so many days in traversing so narrow a country. When the army had advanced to Allen's-Town, it became a matter of consideration with the General, whether to keep the direct course towards Staten Island, across the Rariton, or whether, by taking the road to his right, and drawing towards the sea coast, he should push on to Sandy-Hook. He knew that the Generals Washington and Lee, with the whole continental force on that side, had already passed the Delaware; and he had heard, that General Gates, with the northern army, was advancing to join them on the Rariton. The difficulty of passing the Rariton, and the circumstances with which it might have been attended
under

1778.

under his incumbrances, in the face of an enemy, with other concurring causes, determined him to the right hand-course, as much the more eligible.

On the other hand, General Washington, who had crossed the Delaware far above Philadelphia, at Coryel's Ferry, attributed, with his usual foresight and caution, the slow movements of the British army to a design of decoying him into the low country, when, by a rapid movement on the right, they might gain possession of the strong grounds above him, and so enclosing his army to the river, force him to a general engagement under every disadvantage. Under this persuasion, in which it is possible his sagacity deceived him, as the peculiar circumstances of the British army rendered it totally incapable of any such rapid movements as he apprehended, the slowness on the one side retarded the motions on the other. It is, however, likewise probable, that Washington reserved himself entire for the passage of the Rariton; which he concluded would have been their course, and which he knew would have afforded him great advantage in an attack.

But when he discovered that the British army had departed from its expected line of direction, and was bending its way on the other side towards the sea-coast, he immediately changed his system, and sent several detachments of chosen troops, under the General conduct of the Marquis de Fayette, to harass the army in its march, himself following, at a suitable distance, with the whole force. As affairs grew more critical upon the near approach of the van of one army to the rear of the other, General Lee was dispatched with two brigades, to reinforce, and to take the command of the advanced corps; which, by Washington's account, amounted then to about 5000 men, although from the

the several detachments which he specifies, it would seem to have been stronger.

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Sir Henry Clinton, on the march to a place called Freehold, judging from the number of the enemy's light troops which hovered on his rear, that their main body was at no great distance, judiciously determined to free that part of the army, from the incumbrance and impediment of the baggage, which he accordingly placed under the conduct of General Knyphausen, who led the first column of the army. The other, which covered the line of march, being now disengaged and free for action, formed a body of troops which could not easily be equalled, and was under the immediate command of the General. It was composed of the 3d, 4th, and 5th brigades of British, two battalions of British, and the Hessian grenadiers, a battalion of light infantry, the guards, and the 16th regiments of light dragoons.

On the morning after this arrangement, General Knyphausen, with the first division and the carriages, began at the break of day to move, directing their march towards Middletown, which lay ten or twelve miles on their way, in a high and strong country. The second division, under the Commander in Chief, continued for some hours on their ground in the neighbourhood of Freehold, both to cover the line of March, and to afford time for the chain of carriages to get clear on their way. June 28.

Having begun to march about eight o'clock, some parties of the enemy which appeared in the woods on their left flank, were engaged and dispersed by the light troops; but as the rear-guard descended from the heights above Freehold, into a valley about three miles in length, and one in breadth, several columns of the enemy appeared, likewise descending into the plain, who about ten o'clock began to canonade the rear. The General at the same

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same instant received intelligence, that the enemy were discovered marching in force on both his flanks. He was immediately struck, that an attack on the baggage was their principal object; and as the carriages were then entangled in defiles which continued for some miles, it seemed a matter of no small difficulty to obviate the danger.

In this critical situation, the General, with great quickness and presence of mind judged, that a vigorous attack, and severe pressure, upon that body of the enemy which harrassed his rear, would recall the detachments on his flanks to its assistance, and seemed to be the only probable means of saving the convoy. For although he had good information, that General Washington was at hand with his whole army, which he heard was estimated at 20,000 men; yet, as he knew that his main body was separated from that corps which attacked Lord Cornwallis, in the rear, by two considerable defiles, he was not apprehensive that he could pass a greater body of troops through them, during the execution of the measure which he intended, than what the force along with him was well able to oppose; whilst on the other hand, even with that division of the army, Washington's situation would not be a little critical, if he should chance to come upon him, when he was struggling in his passage through the defiles.

Guarding, however, against every possible result of the measure, and to be in preparation for the event of a general engagement, he recalled a brigade of the British Infantry, and the 17th regiment of light dragoons, from Knyphausen's division, and left direction for them to take a position which would effectually cover his right flank, being the side on which he was most jealous of the design of the enemy. In the mean time, the Queen's light dragoons had with their usual spirit attacked and routed the enemy's

enemy's cavalry, under the Marquis de Fayette, and drove them back in confusion on their own infantry. The General then made dispositions to attack the enemy in the plain; but before he could advance, they fell unexpectedly back, and took a strong position on the heights above Monmouth Court-House. 1778.

The heat of the weather was in that season always intense; but upon that particular day was so excessive, as to be seldom equalled, even in the sultry summers of that continent; so that the troops were already greatly fatigued. The situation of the army, however, rendered the most vigorous exertion necessary. The British grenadiers, with their left to the village of Freehold, and the guards on their right, began the attack with such spirit, that the enemy soon gave way. But their second line preserved a better countenance; and resisted a fierce and eager attack with great obstinacy. They were, however, at length, completely routed; but in this exigency, with a very unusual degree of recollection, as well as resolution, took a third position with so much judgment, that their front was covered by a marshy hollow, which scarcely admitted the practicability of an attack by that way.

Sir Henry Clinton brought up part of the second line, and made some other dispositions to attack the enemy in this post, and the light Infantry and Rangers, had already turned their left for that purpose; but the army in general, was now so overpowered by heat and fatigue, that upon consideration, he thought it better not to press the affair any farther. He was also by this time confident, that the purpose which had induced him to the attack was gained, in the preservation of the convoy. A bold attempt of the enemy, to cut off the retreat of the light Infantry, rendered some new movements, notwithstanding the excessive toil of the day, still necessary. The army at length returned to that position,

1778. position, from whence they had first driven the enemy, after their quitting the plain.

The General's opinion with respect to the design, on the baggage, was justified in the event; and the propriety of his subsequent conduct in attacking the enemy on that principle confirmed. Two brigades of the enemy's light troops had passed the army, one on each flank, in that view, and had actually made the attempt; but by the good dispositions made by the commanders, the firmness of the 40th regiment, and the ready service of the light Horse, they were repulsed at the first onset, and the engagement on the plain then commencing, were immediately recalled.

Sir Henry Clinton attacks a part of Washington's army, which he completely routes.

Sir Henry Clinton, having now fully attained his object, for the Generals Knyphausen and Grant, with the first division and baggage, were arrived at Nut Swamp, near Middletown, could have no inducement for continuing in his present situation. The troops had already gained sufficient honour, in forcing successively, from two strong positions, a corps of the enemy, which, he was informed, amounted to near 12,000 men; and the merit of the service was much enhanced, by the unequalled circumstances of heat and fatigue under which it was performed. The enemy were much superior in force to the division immediately under his command; and if the equality had been even nearer, it would still seem imprudent to have hazarded an engagement, at such a distance from the rest of his army, in a country, not only entirely hostile, but which from its nature, must have been ruinous to strangers under any circumstances of defeat. And as the heat of the weather rendered marching by day intolerable, so the moon-light added much to the eligibility of the night for that purpose. Upon some or all of these accounts, the troops having reposed till ten o'clock, the army was again put in motion,

motion, and they marched forward to join their fellows.

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Such was the detail of the action at Freehold, or Monmouth, as it is otherwise called, as given on our side. The loss, in slain, was not considerable in point of number, but rendered grievous by that of the brave Colonel Monckton. That gallant officer, who had frequently encountered death in all its forms, had the fortune of being more than once grievously wounded, both in the last war, and the present; and after the hair breadth escape of a recovery, when left among the dead on the field, was only reserved to be killed on this day, at the head of the second battalion of grenadiers. This day and action were also rendered remarkable by the singular circumstance, unparrelleled in the history of the New World, of 59 soldiers perishing! without receiving a wound, merely through the excessive heat and fatigue. Several of the Americans also, inured as they were to the climate, died through the same cause.

The Americans claim great honour to that part of their troops which had an opportunity of being engaged in this action. They likewise claim, though without any apparent ground, the advantage as the affair now stands; but pretend that they should have gained a complete and decisive victory, if it had not been for the misconduct and disobedience of orders of General Lee. That officer, had some time before, by an exchange, obtained a release from his long confinement at New-York; and we have already seen, was appointed to take the command of those different bodies of troops, which had been detached to harass the British army, and to impede its march.

It appears from General Washington's account of the matter, that he being well informed, that if

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General
Wash-
ington's
account
of the
battle of
Mon-
mouth.

the British army once gained the high and strong country near Middletown, no attempt could afterwards be made upon them, with the smallest prospect of success, he accordingly determined to fall upon their rear immediately upon their departure from the strong grounds in the neighbourhood of Freehold, on which they had encamped during the night of the 27th. He communicated this intention to General Lee, with orders to make his dispositions for the attack, and to keep the troops lying upon their arms in constant preparation; which he also practised himself in the main body.

Washington having received an express at five in the morning, that the British army had begun their march, immediately dispatched an order to Lee to attack them; acquainting him at the same time, that he was marching directly to his support, and that for the greater expedition, he should cause his men to disincumber themselves of that part of their baggage, which (it appears from hence) they carried upon their backs. To his great surprize and mortification, however, when he had marched above five miles, he met the whole advanced corps retreating, which they informed him was by General Lee's orders, without their making the smallest opposition, excepting the single fire of one detachment, to repulse the British light Horse.

The General found the rear of the retreating corps hard pressed by the enemy; but, by forming them anew, under the brave and spirited exertions of their officers, (as he says) he soon checked the advance of the British forces; and, having by this means gained time to plant some batteries of cannon, and to bring up fresh forces, the engagement hung in an equal poize. In this situation, (he continues) the enemy finding themselves warmly opposed in front, made an attempt to turn his left flank; but were bravely repulsed and driven back by

by some detached parties of Infantry. A similar attempt on the right, was repelled by General Green; who afterwards, in conjunction with Gen. Wayne, took such positions and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, as compelled the British forces to retire behind that defile, where the first stand had been made in the beginning of the action. 1778.

In that situation, in which their flanks were secured by thick woods and morasses, and their front only assailable through a narrow defile, he notwithstanding made dispositions (he says) for attacking them; but the darkness came on so fast, as not to afford time for their surmounting the impediments in their way. The main body, however, lay all night upon their arms on the place of action, as the detached parties did in the several positions which they had been ordered to take, under a full determination of attacking the British army when the day appeared; but they retreated in such profound silence in the night, that the most advanced posts, and those very near them, knew nothing of their departure until morning.

Washington represents the number of British buried by the Americans, to be about four times greater, than the loss acknowledged by our Gazette; and his own, as much under that state. He says, they carried off their wounded, excepting four officers, and about forty soldiers. He gives high and unusual praise, and expresses himself under the greatest obligation to the zeal, bravery, and conduct of his officers; and says, the behaviour of the troops in general, after they had recovered from the surprize, occasioned by the retreat of the advanced corps, was such as could not be surpassed. The public acknowledgements of the Congress, were very flattering to the army, but particularly so to the General and to his officers; in which they affected to consider this action as a battle, and the result as a great

1778. great and important victory, obtained over the grand British army, under the immediate command of their General.

Washington took care to inform the Congress, that the nature of the country rendered any further pursuit of the British army fruitless, and all attempts to disturb their embarkation at Sandy Hook, equally impracticable and dangerous. He accordingly detached only some light troops to observe and attend their motions, and drew off the main body of the army to the borders of the North River. The Americans lost some officers of name in this action; particularly a Colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania, and a major Dickenson of Virginia, both of whom were much regretted.

General
Lee put
under
an arrest,
and tried
by a
Court
Martial.

It appears that General Washington used some very harsh and severe expressions, in the face of the army, to General Lee, upon meeting him, on the retreat of his corps from the place of action; amounting to a direct charge of disobedience of orders, want of conduct, or want of courage. This produced two passionate letters from Lee, (who was likewise put under arrest) with an answer from Washington, all written in the day or night of the action. A court martial was instantly demanded, and as instantly ordered; and so readily carried into execution, as to be opened at Brunswick on the 4th of July. The charges laid against Lee were, first, disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions. For misbehaviour before the enemy on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat. And lastly, for disrespect to the Commander in chief, by the two letters we have mentioned. The result of the Court, after a trial which lasted to the 12th of August, was the finding General Lee guilty of the first charge. The finding him in part guilty of the second,

second, "Of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary, and, in some few instances, a disorderly retreat." They also found him guilty of disrespect to the commander in chief; and sentenced him, to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of twelve months. It is impossible for us to enter into the merits of this sentence; in which party might have had a great share. When a dispute had been carried to so great an height, between an officer on whom the Americans reposed their chief consequence, and one subordinate and less popular, it is not difficult to divine where the blame will be laid.

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In the mean time, the British army arrived at the high lands of Navesink, in the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook, on the last of June; at which latter place, the fleet from the Delaware, under Lord Howe, after being detained in that river by calms, had most fortunately arrived on the preceding day. It had happened in the preceding winter, that the peninsula of Sandy Hook, had been cut off from the continent, and converted to an absolute island, by a violent breach of the sea; a circumstance then of little moment, but which might now have been attended with the most fatal consequences. By the happy arrival of the fleet, at the instant when its assistance was so critically necessary, the ability of the noble commander, and the extraordinary efforts of the seamen, this impediment was speedily removed; a bridge of boats being completed with such expedition, that the whole army was passed over this new channel on the 5th of July; and were afterwards conveyed with ease to New York; neither army nor navy yet knowing the circumstances of danger and ruin in which they had been so nearly involved.

British
army
arrives
in the
neigh-
bourhood
of Sandy
Hook.

For an unexpected enemy had now arrived on the coast of North America, who was to give a new,
and

1778. and a strange turn to the circumstances of the war. On the second day after the conveyance of the army from Sandy Hook, Lord Howe received intelligence by his cruizers, that D'Estaing's fleet had been seen on the coast of Virginia, on the very day that the army had passed the bridge at Sandy Hook. If D'Estaing had met the transports, either in the Delaware, or on the passage from thence, loaded and encumbered as they were, and convoyed only by two ships of the line, with a number of frigates, the consequence with respect to the fleet is obvious. But it may not so immediately appear, that the fate of the army was so intimately combined with that of the fleet, that the destruction of the one, would have been the inevitable loss of the other. For as the army could not then, by any possible means, have prosecuted its way to New York, and would have been enclosed on one side by the American army, and on the other by the French fleet, cut off from all supply of provision, and destitute of every resource, a repetition of the Saratoga catastrophe, must have been the certain consequence.

D'Es-
taing
arrives
on the
coast of
America.

Although this fatal event was prevented by the bad weather, and unexpected impediments, which D'Estaing met with on his voyage; yet, if he had directed his course directly to New York, instead of the Chesapeak or Delaware, things could scarcely have been better; as he would then have come upon the fleet and army, when they were entangled, either with the laying or passing of the bridge at Sandy Hook. In either circumstance destruction would have been inevitable; and would have been of an amount and magnitude, with respect both to the marine and land service, and the consequences hanging upon it, which, perhaps, has not been equalled of late ages. But D'Estaing's great object was the surprise of the fleet in the Delaware, and the consequent enclosure of the army at Philadelphia; fortunately the winds and weather frustrated his

his design. Upon the whole, it may not be easy 1778.
to point out a more signal or providential deliverance. ~~~~~

The danger, though lessened, was not, however, D'Es-
taing immediately removed; and it still required the most
consummate ability and fortitude, to render the
kindness of fortune effective. On the 4th day after
the account was received of his arrival on the coast, ^{taing appears before the}
and subsequent advice of his having anchored at ^{British}
the Delaware being also received, D'Es- ^{fleet at}
taing appeared suddenly, and rather unexpectedly, in sight ^{Sandy}
of the British fleet at Sandy Hook. His force was ^{Hook.}
great, and in good condition, consisting of twelve
ships of the line, and three frigates of superior size.
Among the former, were several ships of great
force and weight of metal; one carrying 90, ano-
ther 80, and six carrying 74 guns each; and the
squadron was said to have no less than eleven thou-
sand men on board. On the other side, the British
fleet under Lord Howe, consisted of six sixty-four
gun ships, three of fifty, and two of forty guns,
with some frigates and sloops. Most of the former
had been long on service, were accordingly in bad
condition, and were also wretchedly manned. If
any thing, however, could remedy such essential de-
fects, it might have been hoped for, from the supe-
rior abilities of their Commander, and the excel-
lency of his Officers.

They had, however, the advantage of being in
possession of that port or harbour which is formed
by Sandy Hook; the entrance of which is covered
by a bar, and from whence the inlet passes to New
York. The expected, and avowed object of
D'Es-
taing, was to force that passage, and to attack
the English squadron in the harbour. Notwith-
standing the utmost exertions of preparation made
by Lord Howe, that the time could possibly admit;
yet, from contrary winds, and other unavoidable
incidents, the ships were not completely arrived in
their

1778. their respective situations of defence, nor had there been time to chuse those situations with the judgment which was afterwards exercised, when D'Estaing appeared without the Hook. Under these circumstances, which, with respect to the effect, might be considered, in some degree, as affording the advantages of a surprise, if he had pushed on directly to pass the bar and force the passage, it would seem, that neither the advantage of situation, nor any eminence of ability or virtue on the other side, could be capable of counteracting the vast superiority of his force. The conflict would have been undoubtedly dreadful; and perhaps, in that respect, might have exceeded any thing known in naval history; but the greatest portion of human spirit, must require some adequate degree of strength, to render its exertions effective.

A diversity of opinion seems to prevail, on the practicability of the great ships of the French fleet passing in force through the strait, and over the bar. Some are of opinion that it might have been attempted with prudence. If so, it may be considered as a happiness on all sides, that D'Estaing was not possessed of that spirit of enterprize which would have been equal to so arduous an attempt; that the terror of the British flag was yet in no degree weakened; and that the name of the noble Commander who opposed him, added some weight to that effect. D'Estaing accordingly cast anchor on the Jersey side, about four miles without the Hook, and in the vicinity of the small town of Shrewsbury.

The spirit that was displayed on this occasion, not only in the fleet and army, but through every order and denomination of seamen, was never exceeded, and will not often be equalled. A thousand volunteers were immediately dispatched from the transports to the fleet. The remainder of the crews,

crews, could not restrain their indignation at being left behind, and sought every possible means, by hiding in the boats or otherwise, to escape on board the men of war; so that the agents could scarcely keep by force a sufficient number of hands for the watch of their respective ships. The masters and mates of the merchantmen and traders at New York, solicited employment with the greatest earnestness; and took their stations at the guns with the common sailors. Others hazarded every thing, by putting to sea in light vessels, to watch the motions of the enemy, and perform other necessary services. One in particular, with a noble disinterestedness and gallantry, which may be compared with any thing known in history, offered to convert his vessel (in which his whole hope and fortune lay) into a *fireship*, to be conducted by himself; and spurned with disdain every proposal of indemnification or reward.

It will afford no surprise, that this spirit should shine out in the army with equal lustre; and that the light infantry and grenadiers, who had scarcely recovered the fatigue of a most toilsome and dangerous march, and with many of the Officers wounds still green and sore, should, notwithstanding, contend with such eagerness, to serve on board the men of war as marines, that the point of honour was obliged to be decided by lots. In a word, the public spirit, zeal, bravery, and magnanimity, displayed upon this occasion, would have stamped a character upon a nation that before had none; and is an honour even to this country. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the popularity of the noble Commander, and the confidence founded on his great qualities, contributed not a little to these exertions.

The French fleet continued at anchor in the position we have mentioned, and taking in water and

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provisions, for eleven days. It may be well supposed, that as D'Estaing did not profit of the first opportunity that offered, that any attempt made by him, after the exertions on the other side had taken their full effect, and the judicious defensive dispositions made by the British Admiral were completed, would have been not only ineffectual, but probably (notwithstanding the superiority of his force) ruinous. Neither the confidence arising from D'Estaing's hesitation, or from their own courage, was, however, any allay to the mixed passions of grief and indignation which now agitated the British seamen. They endured the mortification, for the first time, of seeing a British fleet blocked up and insulted in their own harbour, and the French flag flying triumphant without; and this was still more deeply embittered and aggravated, by beholding every day, vessels under English colours (who had still been ignorant of the loss of their usual protection), captured under their eyes by the enemy. They looked out every hour with the utmost anxiety, and in the most eager expectation, for the arrival of Byron's squadron.

July 22.

D'Estaing
sails from
Sandy
Hook.

D'Estaing's fleet at length appeared under way; and as the wind was favourable, and the spring tides at the highest (the water rising that afternoon thirty feet on the bar) it was expected that he intended to carry his long delayed menace into execution; and that that day would have afforded one of the hottest and most desperate engagements that had ever been fought, during the long enmity and rivalry that had subsisted between the two nations. Every thing was at stake on the British side. If the naval force was destroyed, (and nothing less than destruction or victory could have ended the conflict) the vast fleets of transports and victuallers, with the army, must all have fallen along with it. D'Estaing, however, thought the attempt too dangerous; and
shaping

shaping his course another way, was in a few hours out of fight. 1778.

Nothing was ever more critical than this commander's stay at Sandy Hook; and few things could be more fortunate in the present circumstances, than his departure at the exact period that he did. For if the whole, or any part, of Admiral Byron's fleet had arrived during his stay, considering the ruined state in which it reached the coasts of America, there could scarcely have been a hope, of its not falling, almost, a defenceless prey into his hands. That unfortunate squadron is said to have been, in many respects, badly equipped and provided. In this state they had the fortune of meeting unusually bad weather for the season; and being separated in different storms, and lingering through a tedious passage, arrived, scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted, or otherwise damaged, in various degrees of distress, upon different and remote parts of the coast of America. Between the departure of D'Estaing on the 22d and the 30th of July, the Renown, of 50 guns, from the West Indies, the Raisable and Centurion of 64 and 50, from Halifax, and the Cornwall, (one of Admiral Byron's squadron) of 74 guns, all arrived singly at Sandy Hook. The joy arising from this reinforcement, could scarcely be superior to that excited by a sense of the imminent danger which they had so fortunately escaped. It seemed no less an instance of good fortune, that the Cornwall was in better condition than most of the other ships of that squadron.

This failure of the excellently laid scheme, which had been concerted by the French ministry with the American deputies at Paris, for the surprize and capture of the British fleet and army, whether on the Delaware or its borders, necessarily called for new counsels and measures. Rhode Island was the object now fixed upon, as that which would admit

1778. admit the mutual operation of the new allies by land and sea. This was the motive of D'Estaing's departure from Sandy Hook; and for this purpose, General Sullivan assembled a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Providence, for an invasion of the island, on its north end, from the continent; whilst D'Estaing, was to enter the harbour of Newport, near its southern extremity, and after destroying the shipping, by a powerful assault on the works facing the sea, to place the British forces between two fires.

D'Estaing
arrives at
Rhode
Island.

The French fleet either blocked up or entered the several inlets, between which Rhode Island, and its adjoining lesser islands, are enclosed, and which form a communication more or less navigable in the different branches, between the open sea and the back continent, on the 29th of July. The main body cast anchor without Brenton's Ledge, about five miles from Newport; two of their line of battle ships ran up the Naraganset passage, and anchored off the north end of the island of Conanicut, where they were shut up several days from rejoining the fleet by contrary winds; while some of their frigates, entering the Seconnet passage, occasioned the blowing up of the King Fisher sloop and two armed galleys, which could not otherwise avoid falling into the hands of the enemy.

Major General Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded the British forces, took every measure in the power of a brave and experienced officer, that could tend to a vigorous and most obstinate defence. The troops, artillery, and cattle, were immediately conveyed from the island of Conanicut; the troops at the out posts in Rhode Island, were in constant readiness, at the first signal, to join the main body; the works to the sea were strengthened by every possible means, and the seamen belonging to the vessels that were destroyed, as well as those

those that could be spared from others, were called to their favourite occupation of serving the artillery. The transports (which must otherwise have fallen into the enemies hands) were sunk in different parts of those channels and passages, which might have afforded them an opportunity of attacking the works with advantage. The royal frigates were removed as far from danger as possible; but as their loss or destruction must be inevitable in the prosecution of the enemy's design, they were dismantled of their artillery and stores, and the necessary measures taken for securing the latter part of the alternative.

1778.

Two opposite bays, in the inlets on the eastern and western sides of the island, compress it so much, as to form a kind of Isthmus, by which the southern end, that spreads into the ocean, is connected with the main body. The town of Newport lies just within this peninsula, at the opening of the Isthmus, on the western side of the island, and facing the island of Conanicut; the space between both forming a bay, which includes, or forms the harbour. The inlet to the harbour from the sea, called the Middle Channel, is narrow, and enclosed by Brenton's Point, and the opposite point of Conanicut, which form the southern extremities of both islands. A bar of high grounds, which crosses the Isthmus from channel to channel above Newport, was strongly covered with lines, redoubts, and artillery; so that the Peninsula might be considered as a garrison, distinct from the rest of the island; and under the protection of a superior naval force, might in a great measure defy any attempts from the northern side, supposing that an enemy had made good its landing in such circumstances. But the enemy being masters by sea, rendered the task of defence, under the apprehension of an attack on both sides at the same time, exceedingly arduous. The commander had however,
just

1778.

just before, received a reinforcement of five battalions; the troops were in excellent condition and spirit; and the body of seamen, both with respect to labour and danger, were no small addition to their means of resistance.

The force destined against them by land, was not so considerable as their information had led them to apprehend. The business on that side seems to have been committed mostly, if not entirely, to the northern colonies, who were those immediately concerned in the event. General Sullivan, is however said to have assembled about 10,000 men; of whom, at least half, were composed of volunteers from New England and Connecticut. As the operations of the French fleet, were regulated by those of the army on land, they continued inactive, until Sullivan was in condition to pass over from the continent to the north end of the island. On the 8th of August, finding that measure in forwardness, and the wind being favourable, they entered the harbour under an easy sail, cannonading the batteries and town as they passed, and receiving their fire, without any material effect on either side. They anchored above the town, between Goat Island and Conanicut, but nearer to the latter, on which both the French and Americans had parties for some days past.

As soon as the determination of the enemy to enter the harbour became apparent, the commanders found themselves under the grievous necessity of burning the *Orpheus*, *Lark*, *Juno*, and *Cerberus* frigates; as they were soon after of sinking the *Flora* and *Falcon*.

As soon as Lord Howe received advice of the danger of Rhode Island, he determined to attempt every thing, which resolution, under the direction of reason and judgment, could undertake for its pre-

preservation. His Squadron, notwithstanding the late reinforcement, was still, with respect to effective force, and weight of metal, so far inferior to the enemy, that to hazard an engagement, without some collateral advantage to counteract so great a superiority, would seem a degree of rashness inconsistent with his character. In point of number, he was indeed superior to the French, his Squadron now consisting of one 74, seven 64, and five 50 gun ships, besides several frigates; but the great deficiency in other respects, appears from the bare recital of the rates. Every thing in such a situation was, however, to be tried, and he was determined that nothing should be left undone. The account indeed he received of the separated state of the French fleet, some of them involved in the channels, and the bulk lying without, afforded some room for a hope, that he might bring on an engagement upon more equal terms than could have been otherwise expected.

But notwithstanding the utmost possible expedition, he met with such unavoidable delays, that he was not able to reach Rhode Island, until the day after the French fleet had entered that harbour. From the situation in which the enemy now lay, he was enabled to communicate directly with General Pigot; the result of which was, that under the present circumstances, the affording him any essential relief was impracticable.

Aug. 9.
Lord
Howe
arrives at
Rhode
Island.

A sudden change of wind to the north-east, afforded an equal change of circumstances, and on the following day, the French Admiral stood out to sea with the whole fleet, those in the Naraganset Passage, as well as the port. Lord Howe, justly deeming the weather-gage too great an advantage to be added to the superior force of the enemy, contended for that object with all the skill and judgment incident to an able and experienced seaman.

On

1778. On the other hand, D'Estaing, notwithstanding his superiority, was as eager to preserve this advantage, as his adversary to obtain it. This contest of seamanship prevented an engagement on that day; but the wind on the following still continuing adverse to the design of the British Admiral, he determined to make the best of the present circumstances, and to engage the enemy; forming the line in ~~such~~ a manner as to be joined by three fire ships, which were under the tow of as many frigates. A strong gale of wind, which afterwards increased to a violent tempest, and continued for near 48 hours, not only put by the engagement by separating the fleets, for the present, but scattered them in such a manner, and caused so much damage on both sides, as rendered an engagement for some time impracticable.

Great damage done to the French fleet by a violent storm.

The French suffered greatly in this tempest, two of their capital ships being dismasted, and others much damaged. Some untoward situations, and unusual circumstances, were produced by this conflict of the elements. The Languedoc of 90 guns, D'Estaing's own ship, had lost all her masts, and was met in that condition on the evening of the 13th, by the Renown of 50 guns, Capt. Dawson, who attacked her with such fury, as well as judgment and advantage, that no doubt could have been entertained of the event, if the day light had continued. But the darkness of the night, and freshness of the gale, whose violence was not yet quite allayed, compelled Capt. Dawson to cease from his attack, after he had poured several broadsides close into her, and had, besides other apparent damage shot away her rudder. He, however, lay to, as closely as possible, for the night, intending to renew the attack in the morning, and considering her as little less than a certain prize. The appearance of six French men of war, by whom he was chased at day light, and who were possibly led that way

way by the firing, put an end to Dawson's hopes, and relieved the French Admiral from this very urgent distress. 1778.

Upon the same evening, and about the same hour, the Preston, likewise of 50 guns, Commodore Hotham, fell in with the Tonnant, a French 80 gun ship, with only her main mast standing. The Commodore attacked her with the same spirit and effect, with which Captain Dawson had engaged the Languedoc. The circumstances were likewise similar in every respect. The night obliged him to draw off, with the same intention of renewing the engagement, and under the same certainty of success; whilst the appearance of a part of the French fleet in the morning, frustrated both.

The circumstances of advantage afforded by the tempest, were not, however, entirely confined to one side. It held out one on the other, which was productive of one of the most gallant and brilliant naval actions, of this, or of any war. The Isis of 50 guns, Capt. Raynor, was eagerly chased and engaged by a French 74 gun flag-ship, supposed to be the Zele, though other accounts say the Cesar. The Frenchman was much the better sailer, and the circumstances of the ships with respect to the tempest were the same, they having both entirely escaped the effects of its fury. In this very unequal contest, in which the greatest resolution and skill, would seem incapable of supplying the deficiency of force on the one side, a close and desperate engagement was maintained with the greatest obstinacy on both, for an hour and a half, and within pistol shot distance. At the end of that time, the Isis had obtained so manifest a superiority in the action, that the French ship was glad to put before the wind, and call in the aid of all her sails, to escape from so determined an enemy. The Isis had suffered so

Aug. 16.
Gallant
action
between
Capt.
Raynor
of the
Isis of
50 guns,
and a
French
74 gun
flag ship.

1778. much in her masts and rigging as to be incapable of attempting a pursuit.

It is not easy to determine whether to admire more, the gallantry exhibited in this singular action, or the modesty of the brave commander in his account of it. This was indeed so extreme, that his Admiral was obliged in some degree to supply the defect, by acquainting the Admiralty, that the honour of the day was not more owing to the resolution of the Captain, or the intrepidity of his officers and crew, than to the professional skill and ability of the former. The loss of men was considerable on the French side, and M. de Bougainville, the celebrated and philosophic navigator, who was their commander, is said to have lost an arm in the action. The loss in the *Isis* was very moderate. The high honour which the young Duke of Ancaster acquired as a volunteer in this action, only serves to embitter the loss which his country has since sustained, by the premature death of a nobleman, who so early distinguished himself in her service, and from whom she had so much to expect.

Lord
Howe
returns
to New
York.

Although the British squadron suffered much less in the storm than the French, yet their damage was so considerable as unavoidably to cost some time at Sandy Hook or New York, in proportion to their wants, whether only to refit, or to repair. The French fleet returned to Rhode Island on the 20th, where they anchored without the harbour, and sailed from thence on the 22d for Boston, in order to repair their shattered ships. Lord Howe having got his ships in condition with an expedition that surprized every body, pursued them with the greatest eagerness, hoping to overtake them by the way.

In the mean time; General Sullivan had landed on the north end of Long Island, by the way of Howland's Ferry, on the 9th of August, being the day that

that D'Estaing went out of the harbour to meet Lord Howe. The extreme badness of the weather impeded for some days the bringing forward of his stores and artillery, and of course retarded the progress of his army. On the 17th, however, they broke ground on Honeyman's Hill, near the British works, and began to construct batteries, and to form lines of approach; the British forces being no less active, in throwing up new works, and constructing new batteries to counteract theirs. We have already observed, that General Pigot was under no great apprehension of an attack in front; the general object of apprehension was the concurrent assault of D'Estaing on the town and works to the water; but the great point of danger was his landing a body of troops in the southern peninsula, which would have laid the garrison open in the rear, whilst they were desperately engaged on the front and flank in defence of their works.

1778.

General
Sullivan
lands on
Long
Island.

The critical and most timely appearance of Lord Howe with the British squadron, happily obviated this apprehension and danger in the first instance; and D'Estaing's consequent departure or flight to Boston, removed them entirely. His sailing out of the harbour to engage Lord Howe, does not seem by any means to have been a judicious measure. The nature of the port, the narrowness of the passage from the sea, with the means of defence afforded by the Island of Conanicut, which was occupied by himself and his allies, held out, all together, so strong a security to his fleet, that scarcely any naval superiority, which, however, did not exist, could have justified any attempt upon it. In this state, it would seem, that he should first have secured his object, which appears to have been much within his reach, before he put out to sea, either to engage or to seek for Lord Howe. But vanity seems here to have had some share in his determination. The glory of vanquishing a British squadron,

1778.



dron, and of obtaining a triumph over a commander of great name, and of a country which so seldom afforded such laurels, was a temptation not to be resisted by D'Estaing.

Yet, after all the ill consequences of this vain and ruinous pursuit, if he had entered the harbour, and co-operated with the Americans, in conformity with their most earnest solicitations, when he anchored the second time before Rhode Island, it would seem that the state of the garrison would have been extremely perilous, and that he had a fair prospect of retrieving, by a stroke of no small importance, the failure of success in his grand object. Such a successful co-operation would likewise have had a wonderful effect in conciliating the minds of his new allies, and in giving them an idea, which they were not very apt to entertain, of the vigour and efficacy of French councils and arms. It may indeed be objected, and truly, that his two dismasted ships could not have been repaired, nor, perhaps, the rest of his squadron refitted, at Rhode Island; but as they might have continued there in perfect security for any length of time, if he had succeeded in his object, this objection does not appear to be of sufficient weight for its being abandoned.

Great
com-
plaints
by the
Ameri-
cans
against
D'Es-
taing for
leaving
Rhode
Island.

The American army in Rhode Island, and the people of the Northern colonies in general, complained loudly of this conduct. They said, that they had been led into an expedition, of prodigious expence, labour, trouble, and danger, under the assurance, of the most effective co-operation of the French fleet. That, under this sanction, they had committed their lives and liberties on the invasion of an Island, where, without a naval protection, they were likely to be enclosed like wild beasts in a toil; and that in this situation, they were first deserted, for a vain and fruitless pursuit, and then to-
tally

tally abandoned, at the very time that they had brought the business on their side to the point of completion. 1778.

Under these discontents and apprehensions, Sullivan was deserted by the New England and Connecticut volunteers, who composed the better half of his army; and by this means if we credit the American accounts, his numbers were so much reduced, as to be inferior, in point of force to the garrison. In these circumstances, and under the immediate apprehension of his retreat being cut off, Sullivan extricated himself with a degree of prudence and ability, which would have done honour to an older General; nor would the behaviour of his troops have disgraced more veteran soldiers.

Having begun to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th of August, he retreated from his lines on the 29th; and though he was most vigorously pursued, and repeatedly attacked in every quarter wherever an opening was made, by the British forces, yet he took his measures so well, and had chosen his posts so judiciously, that although much honour was claimed and deserved on both sides, he gained the north end of the island without sustaining any considerable loss. Being there, from the nature of the ground, and the situation of his posts, in a state of security, he passed his army over by the way of Bristol and Hoyland ferries, on the night of the 30th, without interruption, to the continent. Nor was his good fortune inferior to his conduct, as Sir Henry Clinton arrived just after with such a force from New-York, as would have left no doubt of the fate of his forces, if they had still continued on the island.

On the same day that Sullivan abandoned Rhode Island, Lord Howe entered the bay of Boston, where, to his great mortification, he found that D'Estaing

General
Sullivan
abandons
Rhode
Island.

Ld Howe
enters the
Bay of
Boston.

1778. D'Estaing was arrived before him. This was, however, increased, when upon a close inspection he discovered, that he was so effectually covered in Nantasket Road, by the batteries erected, and the measures of defence taken, by the Americans and French, on the adjacent points and islands, that an attack upon him, with any prospect of success, was utterly impracticable.

The most remarkable transaction during the remainder of the campaign was performed in September, by Maj. Gen. Grey, at Bedford and Fair Haven, by destroying several valuable stores, with 70 ships and privateers, almost ready for sailing. The battery of cannon on Fair Haven side, consisting of eleven pieces, were demolished by Captain Scott, commanding officer of the artillery, and the magazine blown up.

A requisition was made of the arms of the militia,—300 oxen, and 10,000 sheep, which was complied with.—The loss of men in this expedition was inconsiderable.

In October, Sir Henry Clinton had moved into Jersey, partly to favour an expedition sent to Egg harbour: It was in several respects successful. The ships and detachment under some difficulty and opposition arrived there the 5th of October, under the command of Captains Collins and Ferguson.

Three salt works, and several stores were destroyed. The Raleigh, a fine American frigate was taken, and brought to New York. They were informed by deserters, that Count Polaski, an active and cruel enemy had cantoned his corps, consisting of three companies of foot, three troops of horse, a detachment of artillery, and a brass field piece, within a mile of a bridge, which appeared easy to seize. Accordingly 250 men were embarked, and
after

after rowing ten miles landed at four o'clock in the morning, within a mile of the defile, which was secured. They then pushed forward upon the Infantry of Polaski's Legion, cantoned in three different houses: They were almost entirely put to the sword. Among them, were a Lieutenant Colonel, a Captain, and an Adjutant. The enemy endeavoured to harrafs our men in their retreat; but with so much caution and modesty, as to do them little mischief. It seems, that Polaski, had given orders, that no quarter should be given to our troops. In this expedition ten vessels were destroyed, and a number of what is called craft; a large brig, likewise, laden with lumber was taken. This place having been a nest for privateers, the attacking of it was of considerable service, and saved many of our trading ships from being seized.

Lord Howe having with great honour to himself, and advantage to his country, brought the campaign with his powerful adversary to a conclusion, embarked for England. With an inferiority of force, which held out mere preservation as the summit of hope, he, by a continued and rapid succession of the greatest possible exertions, masterly manœuvres, and wise measures, having first counteracted, and at length defeated, all the views and attempts of his enemy, obliged him to fly for refuge to those new allies whom he came to protect, and insulted him under that protection. Leaving him in a condition at parting, which rendered him incapable of any further service in those seas for the remainder of the year.

Lord
Howe
embarks
for
England.

1778.

C H A P. XIX.

This is the
same as
Ch. 2, &c.
(See ms.
note at
beginning of
volume
chapter)

Admiral Byron arrives off Boston, is driven off the coast by a violent storm. The Somerset and Cornwall, two of his squadron, driven on shore, and beat to pieces. Arrives at Rhode Island with the remainder of his fleet. D'Estaing, taking the advantage of a westerly wind, sails out of Boston harbour for the West Indies; is descried by the Culloden one of Byron's fleet, who takes one of his transports. Commodore Hotham, with a squadron of men of war, and a number of transports, with 4000 land forces under the command of Gen. Grant, sails for the West Indies. Arrives at Barbadoes, is joined by Admiral Barrington. Proceeds to Sainte Lucie. D'Estaing suddenly appears before that place, and lands 5000 forces, which are totally repulsed by the British forces. Sails from St Lucie, which surrenders to his Britannic Majesty. Colonel Campbell, in conjunction with General Prevost, reduces the province of Georgia, takes Savannah. General Lincoln defeated at Brier Creek. Predatory expedition from New York. General Prevost appears before Charles Town, summons the garrison to surrender. Retreats to Fort James. D'Estaing appears off Savannah. Summons General Prevost to surrender to the arms of the French King, which was refused; storms the fort, but repulsed with great slaughter, and obliged to sail for Europe, &c. &c.

THE squadron under the command of Admiral Byron, which sailed from Plymouth the beginning of June, in order to counteract the designs of D'Estaing, had the fortune of meeting unusual bad weather for the season, and of being separated in different storms, arrived scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted, or otherwise damaged, in various degrees of distress, upon different and remote parts of the coasts of America. The Princess Royal, the Admiral's ship, reached Hallifax, where he found the Culloden one of his squadron. As soon as his two ships were repaired in the best manner circumstances would admit of, he sailed from Hallifax with the Diamond frigate, Hope and Dispatch ships of war; being joined by his scattered ships, and four ships of the line lately under the command of Lord Howe, he remained off Boston; and though the winter was

was now setting in with its usual inclemency on that stormy and dangerous coast, yet this brave commander knowing what importance it was to the service, that the motions of so powerful an armament as the fleet under Count D'Estaing should be closely watched, resolved to keep his station as long as there was a possibility of doing it with safety: to this, he was still the more induced, by certain informations, that the French fleet were completely refitted and ready for sailing, accompanied by several American storeships, on a secret expedition.

1778.

Nov. 2.

Byron's ships, though the repairs they had received since their arrival on the coast of America were but slight, and the crews much reduced by the incessant fatigues they had undergone, were yet in tolerable condition; and their number being superior to the French, there is little doubt but if the enemy had come out of Boston any time in October, the British flag would have triumphed, and an end have been put to the hostile operations of D'Estaing's fleet in this part of the world. But on the second of November, the wind which at this season usually blows from the North-West, suddenly shifted to a violent and heavy gale from the East, blowing directly on the coast. Seamen alone can conceive the horror of such a situation, and the difficulty the best ships and most experienced sailors have to escape, when a ruthless tempest added to the mountainous swell of the vast Atlantic, urges their destruction: the Somerset of 64 guns, the Cornwall of 74 and Zebra sloop, were so entangled with the coast, that they could not clear it, and were in consequence driven on shore and beat to pieces; great part of the crews perished, the remainder got on land, where it is said, they were treated by the Americans with humanity.

Admiral
Byron
driven
by a vio-
lent storm
from be-
fore
Boston.

The storm continued with unremitting fury all the next day, but on the following, which was the

F f f f

4th

1778. 4th the wind without abating much of its violence, after veering round the compass, settled at the west; of which circumstance the French Admiral availing himself, sailed out of Boston, and was descried on the 7th by the Culloden of 74 guns, one of Byron's fleet, steering to the southeast; but the wind was still so tempestuous that they passed close by the English ship without taking any notice of her; one of the American store ships however which lagged behind the fleet was fired upon by the Culloden, made a prize of and sent into New-York: After which, this ship of war for several days vainly attempted to regain the American coast; but the captain finding the vessel had suffered greatly in her rigging, and that her crew were sickly and dispirited; called his officers to consult with him, when it was unanimously resolved to bear away before the gale for Europe, which they did, and anchored the 13th of December in Milford Haven, at which time there were two hundred of the crew sick in their hammocks, and the remainder in a condition little better, from the variety of hardships they had undergone. Admiral Byron with the residue of his fleet got into Rhode Island.

Nov. 4.
D'Est-
taing
sails for
the West
Indies.

Commo-
dore
Hotham
sails for
the West
Indies.

There is great reason to believe that the British ministry had been early apprized of D'Estaing's further plan of operations, and the designs of the French against the English West-India Islands; for early in October, and long before any dispatches from London, consequential to the taking of Dominica could have reached New-York, Sir Henry Clinton, on whom the command devolved after the return of the Howe's to Europe, prepared upwards of eighty transport-vessels and furnishing them with every necessary accommodation, the 24th of the same month, the 4th. 5th. 15th. 27th. 28th. 35th. 40th. 46th. 49th. 55th. regiments and a corps of Hessians went on board them; in four days after they fell down to Sandy Hook, from whence they failed,

sailed for the West-Indies the 1st of November, 1778. under the convoy of a small squadron of men of war, commanded by Commodore Hotham; being just three days before the departure of D'Estaing from Boston. This force was designed to strengthen the garrisons of the West-India islands, these important places having been shamefully neglected.

On the 10th of December Commodore Hotham's fleet arrived at Barbadoes, where they were joined by a small squadron under the command of Admiral Barrington. At this island they staid only two days, and proceeded to execute one of the intents of their expedition, which was, a descent on the island of Sainte Lucie, where by favour of the monsoon they arrived the day following and immediately landed the troops near the Carenage, while the fleet came to anchor in the grand Cul de Sac. General Grant who commanded the land forces made the best disposition, and having possessed himself of the Carenage, invested the principal fort. While these operations were going forward, D'Estaing with a corps of 5000 land forces on board sailed from Martinique, at which place he had arrived from Boston, on an expedition against the British islands of St Vincents and Grenada, but he was scarcely under way when positive intelligence was brought him, that Sainte Lucie was attacked. A place of such importance from its proximity to Martinique was not to be lost without making every attempt for its deliverance; there was reason to expect Byron would soon arrive in these seas; a coup de main was therefore a measure of necessity, which if it succeeded must inevitably be a decisive stroke against the English, as from the destruction of their army and fleet at Sainte Lucie, all their West India possessions if not taken by the French, must be reduced to such distress that its effects would be felt for many years. D'Estaing suddenly appeared

Com-
modore
Hotham
arrives at
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does,
sails for
St Lucie,
which he
takes
after
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1778.

peared off the grand Cul de Sac where the British fleet lay. He did not find the English unprepared, Barrington's fleet was disposed so as to defend the entrance of the harbour against any number that might attack it, beside which, the General had erected several batteries on shore. Two attempts were made by the French to force into the harbour, but English courage and conduct prevailed; the French were beat off with great loss: an attempt by land was all that now remained, but it was not more fortunate: The army destined for the conquest of the British islands was landed, consisting of 5000 infantry and commanded by the Count D'Estaing and the Marquis de Bouille; they advanced rapidly towards the English intrenchments, with all that confidence which superiority of number gives, being twice that of the English, but they had not the light holiday troops of a southern clime to deal with, it was an iron band of veterans, who inured to toil, joining their native courage to the hardening service of northern campaigns, were not to be subdued. The French advanced to the trenches in two divisions, the right led by D'Estaing and the left by Bouille, they advanced amidst their fire, but their fire was not returned until they mounted the trenches, then, a discharge from the first line of the English stopped them for a moment, and before they could recover they were charged by the British bayonets; the slaughter was dreadful, they fell upon their rear in confusion, the English marched out and attacked in turn; and the victory was complete. The French generals with the shattered remains of their army with difficulty reached their ships, which soon after sailed off with them, and while they were yet in view the French governor despairing of any further succour, surrendered the island to his Britannic Majesty. The loss on the side of the British was inconsiderable, not exceeding two hundred killed and wounded, whereas that of the enemy exceeded one thousand.

In the mean time, two other expeditions were set on foot, one from New York with a body of troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, and another from St Augustine in Florida under the command of Major General Prevost, to act in conjunction for the reduction of the province of Georgia.

1778.

Having received Sir H. Clinton's orders to proceed to Georgia, with his Majesty's 71st regiment of foot, 2 battalions of Hessians, 4 battalions of Provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery, they sailed from the Hook on the 27th of November, escorted by a squadron of his Majesty's ships of war, under the command of Commodore Parker, the whole fleet arrived off the island of Tybee, on the 23d of December, two horse sloops excepted.

Nov. 27.

Colonel
Campbell
sails for
Georgia.

On the 24th the Commodore, with the greatest part of the transports, got over the bar, and anchored in the Savannah river, within the light-house of Tybee; on the 27th the rest of the fleet joined him.

During the time occupied in bringing the last division of the fleet over the Bar, they formed from the Provincial battalions two corps of light infantry, the one to be attached to Sir James Baird's light company of the 71st Highlanders, the other to Capt. Cameron's company of the same regiment.

Having no intelligence that could be depended upon, with respect to the military force of Georgia, or the disposition formed for its defence, Sir James Baird's Highland company of light infantry, in two flat boats, with Lieut. Clark of the navy, was dispatched in the night of the 25th, to seize any of the inhabitants they might find on the banks of Wilmington Creek. Two men were procured by this means, by whom they learnt the most satisfactory

1778.  tory intelligence concerning the state of matters at Savannah, and which settled the Commodore and the Commander of the Land Forces in the resolution of landing the troops the next evening, at the plantation of one Gerridoe, an important post, twelve miles farther up the river than the lighthouse of Tybee, and two miles short, in a direct line, from the town of Savannah, although the distance was not less than three along the road. This post was the first practicable landing place on the Savannah river, the whole country between it and Tybee being a continued tract of deep marsh, intersected by the Creeks of St Augustine and Tybee, of considerable extent, and other cuts of water impassable for troops at any time of the tide.

The Vigilant man of war, with the Comet galley, the Keppel armed brig, and the Greenwich armed sloop, followed by the transports in three divisions, in the order established for a descent, proceeded up the river with the tide at noon; about four o'clock in the evening the Vigilant opened the Reach to Gerridoe's plantation, and was cannonaded by two rebel gallies, who retired before any of their bullets had reached her; a single shot from the Vigilant quickened their retreat.

The tide and evening being too far spent, and many of the transports having grounded at the distance of five or six miles below Gerridoe's plantation, the descent was indispensably delayed till next morning. The first division of the troops, consisting of all the light infantry of the army, the New York volunteers, and 1st battalion of the 71st, under the command of Lieut. Col. Maitland, were landed at break of day on the river-dam in front of Gerridoe's plantation, from whence a narrow causeway, of 600 yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a rice swamp directly for Gerridoe's

doe's house, which stood upon a bluff of 30 feet in height, above the level of the rice swamps. 1778.

The light infantry under Capt. Cameron, having first reached the shore, were formed and led briskly forward to the bluff, where a body of 50 rebels were posted, and from whom they received a smart fire of musquetry; but the Highlanders, rushing on with their usual impetuosity, gave them no time to repeat it: They drove them instantly to the woods, and happily secured a landing for the rest of the army. Capt. Cameron, a spirited and most valuable officer, with two Highlanders, were killed on this occasion, and five Highlanders wounded.

Upon reconnoitring the environs of Gerridoe's plantation, the rebel army was discovered, under Major General Robert Howe, drawn up about a mile east of the town of Savannah, with several pieces of cannon in their front. The 1st division of troops, together with one company of the 2d battalion of the 71st, the 1st battalion of Delancy's, the Wellworth, and part of Wisseback's regiment of Hessians, being landed, it was thought expedient, having the day before them, to go in quest of the enemy, rather than give them an opportunity of retiring unmolested.

A company of the 2d battalion of the 71st, together with the 1st battalion of Delancy's, were accordingly left to cover the landing-place, and the troops marched in the following order for the town of Savannah.

The light infantry, throwing off their packs, formed the advance, the New York volunteers followed to support the light infantry, the 1st battalion of the 71st with two six pounders followed the New York volunteers, and the Wellworth battalion of Hessians, with two three pounders, followed the 71st,

1778. 71st, part of Wiffenbach battalion of Hessians closed the rear. On the troops having entered the great road leading to the town of Savannah, the division of Wiffenbach's regiment was posted on the cross roads to secure the rear of the army; a thick impenetrable wooded swamp covered the left of the line of march; and the light infantry, with the flankers of each corps, effectually scoured the cultivated plantations on the right.

The troops reached the open country near Tatnal's plantation before three o'clock in the evening; and halted in the great road about 200 paces short of the gate leading to Governor Wright's plantation, the light infantry excepted, who were ordered to form immediately upon our right of the road, along the rails leading to Governor Wright's plantation.

The enemy were drawn up across the road, at the distance of 800 yards from this gateway; one half, consisting of Thompson's and Eugee's regiments of Carolina troops, were formed under Col. Eugee, with their left obliquely to the great road leading to Savannah, their right to a wooded swamp, covered by the houses of Tatnal's plantation, in which they had placed some Riflemen; the other half of their regular troops, consisting of part of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th battalions of the Georgia brigade, was formed under Colonel Elbert, with their right to the road, and their left to the rice swamps of Governor Wright's plantation, with the fort of Savannah Bluff behind their left wing, in the stile of second flank; the town of Savannah, round which they had the remains of an old line of intrenchments, covered their rear. One piece of cannon was planted on the right of their line, one upon the left, and two pieces occupied the traverse, across the great road, in the center of their line. About 100 paces in front of this traverse, at a critical

critical spot between two swamps, a trench was cut across the road, and about 100 yards in front of this trench, a marshy rivulet run almost parallel the whole extent of their front; the bridge of which was burned down, to interrupt the passage, and retard the progress of the British forces. 1779.

It was discovered from the movements of the enemy, that they wished and expected an attack upon their left, and the General was desirous of cherishing that opinion.

Having accidentally fallen in with a negro, who knew a private path through the wooded swamp, upon the enemy's right, the 1st battalion of the 71st was ordered to form on the right of the road, and move up to the rear of the light infantry, whilst that corps drew off to the right, as if meant to extend their front to that quarter, where a happy fall of ground favoured the concealment of this manœuvre, and increased the jealousy of the enemy with regard to their left. Sir James Baird had directions to convey the light infantry, in this hollow ground, quite to the rear, and penetrate the wooded swamp upon our left, with a view to get round by the new barracks into the rear of the enemy's right flank. The New York volunteers under Colonel Tumbull was ordered to support him.

During the course of this movement the artillery were formed in a field on the left of the road, concealed from the enemy by a swell of ground in front, to which was meant to run them up for action, when the signal was made to engage, and from whence they could either bear advantageously upon the right of the rebel line, as it was then formed, or cannonade any body of troops in flank which they might detach into the wood to retard the progress of the light infantry.

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The

1779.

The regiment of Willworth was formed upon the left of the artillery, and the enemy continued to amuse themselves with their cannon, without any return upon our part, till it was visible that Sir James Baird and the light infantry had fairly got round upon their rear. On this occasion the line was commanded to move briskly forward. The well-directed artillery of the line, the rapid advance of the 71st regiment, and the forward countenance of the Hessian regiment of Willworth, instantly dispersed the enemy.

A body of militia of Georgia that passed at the new barracks with some pieces of cannon to cover the road from Great Ogeeche, were at this juncture routed, with the loss of their artillery, by the light infantry under Sir James Baird, when the scattered troops of the Carolina and Georgia brigades run across the plain in his front. This officer with his usual gallantry, dashed the light infantry on their flank, and terminated the fate of the day with brilliant success.

Thirty eight officers of different distinctions, and 515 non-commissioned officers and privates, one stand of colours, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, 94 barrels of powder, the fort with all its stores, and in short the capital of Georgia, the shipping in the harbour, with a large quantity of provisions, fell into our possession before it was dark, without any other loss on our side than that of Capt. Peter Campbell, a gallant officer of Skinner's light infantry, and two privates killed; one serjeant, and 9 privates, wounded: 83 of the enemy found dead on the common, and 11 wounded. By the accounts received from the prisoners, 30 lost their lives in the swamp, endeavouring to make their escape.

Major General Prevost, who commanded the troops for the defence of the fort at St. Augustine

in Florida, having collected all the force of every kind which could be possibly spared from the necessary number for the defence of the fort and garrison, in pursuance of Sir Henry Clinton's orders, immediately marched to co-operate with the troops from the northward; but was greatly retarded, having no conveyance for the artillery and ammunition but by water in open boats. They were also obliged to take a long circuit to avoid the enemy's gallies; however by the activity of Lieut. Col. Prevost, who made a forced march in the night, he surrounded the town of Sunbury to prevent the enemy from escaping in case they designed to abandon the fort; which he soon obliged to surrender with the garrison, making 212 prisoners including officers. On the side of his Majesty's troops only one man killed, and three wounded, notwithstanding they had two gallies and an armed vessel firing on our trenches for three days, besides 21 pieces of cannon mounted in the fort. After settling a garrison in it, and ordering the necessary repairs, General Prevost proceeded to Savannah to take the command of the army, lately under Col. Campbell.

1779.
Town of
Sunbury
taken.

As soon as the proper arrangements could be made Lieut. Col. Campbell was detached up the river with a select corps of about 800 regular troops, and some irregulars, to endeavour to penetrate to Augusta, and to open the communication with the back inhabitants of the provinces. The Colonel effected his march to Augusta with few obstructions, and without any loss.

Lieut. Col. Prevost, with a considerable detachment, had been sent to sustain, join, or otherwise co-operate with Colonel Campbell; and had taken post at Briar-Creek to keep the enemy below in check, and to cover the advance when necessary.

But

1779.

Rebel
army de-
feated at
Brier
Creek.

But from the length and difficulty of the communication it was judged proper for the whole to fall back to Hudson's Ferry, 24 miles above Savannah, which formed the upper extremity of our chain on the river. Intelligence being received that the rebels, in considerable force, had taken post at Briar-Creek 13 miles above the upper post at Hudson's, and that they were busy repairing a bridge, (which was destroyed by Colonel Campbell) for the purpose of hampering the troops in their quarters, and for cutting of all communication with the upper country; and perhaps with a view of co-operation with their main body. It was deemed necessary to dislodge them, accordingly, Major M'Pherson, with the 1st battalion of the 7th regiment, a corps of light infantry commanded by Sir James Baird, and three companies of grenadiers of the Florida brigade, took a long circuit of 50 miles to cross the creek above them, and endeavour to gain the rear; dispositions were also made by the main army to favour the attempt, and to amuse and keep the Gen. Lincoln in check should he make any attempt on Savannah. The plan was happily effected by the surprise of the rebels, who were totally defeated and dispersed, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, several stand of colours almost all their arms, all their ammunition and baggage; which were left to the victorious troops. The second in command, Brigadier Gen. Elbert, one of their best officers, several of less note, in the whole 27 officers, with near 200 men, were taken; about 150 were killed on the field of battle, adjoining woods, and swamps; but their chief loss consisted in the number of officers and men drowned, in attempting to save themselves from the slaughter, by plunging into a deep and rapid river. The loss of the Royal army was only five privates killed, and one officer and ten privates wounded. The rebels, by the best accounts, were above 2000; on our side three grenadier companies of the 60th regiment, Sir James Baird's light infantry, the 2d batta-
lion

lion of the 71st regiment, Capt. Taw's troop of light dragoons, with about 150 provincials, rangers, and militia; making in all about 900, composed the corps that attacked.

1779.

Immediately after the defeat of the rebels a proclamation was published by Gen. Prevost, reciting that as the inhabitants of Georgia have acknowledged their satisfaction with the concessions and overtures of Great Britain, the General declares that the laws in force in that colony at the end of the year 1775, shall continue in force until quiet times may allow the General Assembly to alter them. About 1400 of the inhabitants submitted, swore allegiance to the King, took the benefit of his Majesty's gracious protection, and were formed into twenty companies in the stile of militia, for the defence of their property against the incursions of the rebels from Carolina.

Several successful predatory expeditions were May 5 undertaken from New York by General Mathews, who commanded the land forces, assisted with a naval force under Sir George Collier, having arrived off the Capes of Virginia, they sailed up Elizabeth and James River to the Glebe about three miles from Portsmouth, which was taken by his Majesty's forces, together with Norfolk and Suffolk; where they found large quantities of all kinds of naval stores, a number of privateers and vessels on the stocks, which were all destroyed; many ships with valuable cargoes were also captured, which were sent to New York.

Sir Henry Clinton being sensible of the importance of the posts of Stony Point and Verplanks, the most direct and convenient communication between the provinces on either side of Hudson's River, determined to possess himself of them when the enemy had nearly completed their works, in order

Stony
Point and
Ver-
planks
taken.

1779. order to secure the important pass of King's Ferry. The troops destined for this service was put under the command of Major General Vaughan; after their embarkation they were joined by the corps from Virginia, which arrived just in time to proceed up the North River on the 30th of May.

May 31 In the morning of the 31st Major Gen. Vaughan landed, with the gros of his command, on the east side of the river, 8 miles below Verplanks, whilst the 17th, 63d, and 64th regiments, with 100 yagers, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, proceeded to within three miles of Stony Point, where they landed under Lieut. Col. Johnson. On the ships coming in view the rebels evacuated their works, which were in some forwardness, and set fire to a large block-house. As the troops appeared to take possession they made some show of resistance, by drawing up on the hills, but did not wait a conflict.

Sir George Collier favoured the expedition with the assistance of the gallies and gun boats of the fleet under his direction; these exchanged some shot with Fort La Fayette, a small but complete work on the east side of the river, whilst the troops were possessing themselves of the heights of Stony Point which commanded it.

The artillery was landed in the night under the command of Major General Pattison; by his exertions and good arrangements, seconded by the chearful labour of the troops, a battery of cannon and mortars were opened at five the next morning on the summit of this difficult rock; their effect was soon perceived as well of that of the gallies. Gen. Vaughan, appearing at this time in the rear of the fort, prevented the retreat which the enemy were concerting. Under these circumstances they surrendered the fort, on being promised humane treatment.

ment. The success of this expedition obliged the rebels to make a *detour* of ninety miles across the mountains to communicate with the country east of Hudson's River. 1779.

Notwithstanding the great importance of Verplanks and Stony Point, and that they were strongly garrisoned, the rebels, on the night of the 15th of June, suddenly assaulted and carried the lines at Stony Point; the greater part of the garrison consisting of the 17th regiment of foot, the grenadier company of the 71st regiment, a company of the loyal Americans, and a small detachment of the Royal artillery under the command of Lieut. Col. Johnson, of the 7th regiment, were either killed or taken. The enemy immediately began a heavy cannonade with our guns from Stony Point upon Lieut. Col. Webster, who commanded at Verplanks; at the same time he was informed that a considerable force was in his rear, who, if they did not mean to attack him from that quarter, at least would make his retreat, should he be driven to that extremity, very difficult.

Upon the first intelligence received of the surprise of these important posts by Sir Henry Clinton at New York, he ordered the army to advance to Dobb's Ferry, pushing forward the cavalry, and some light troops, to the banks of the Croton River, to awe the enemy in any attempt by land against Verplanks. Brigadier General Sterling was in the mean time embarked with three regiments for the relief of Verplanks, or the recovery of Stony Point. On his arrival within sight of the latter place the enemy abandoned it with precipitation, and some circumstances of disgrace.

After this unfortunate affair Sir Henry Clinton dispatched General Tryon in hopes to draw General Washington from the strong post he occupied in the

1779. the mountains of Connecticut; not being able to accomplish his design, he destroyed the public stores, some vessels, and ordnance; at Newhaven burnt the villages of Fairfield and Norwalk, to resent the fire of the rebels from the houses; drove the main body of the rebels from a place called the Northern Heights, destroyed the salt pans, magazine, stores; after which they reembarked, and returned without molestation to New York.

Expedi-
tion up
Penob-
scot River

General Sir Henry Clinton having thought it necessary for his Majesty's service to establish a post on the river Penobscot, Col. M'Lean, about the beginning of June, arrived in that river with a detachment of 450 rank and file of the 47th regiment, and 200 of the 82d. On the arrival the difficulties of clearing the woods, landing provisions and stores, and placing them in safety, made it the 22d of July before the intended fort could be marked out. On the 21st of July the Colonel received advice of a considerable armament having sailed from Boston, for the purpose of reducing the garrison, two of the bastions of the intended fort were then untouched, and the remaining two with the curtains were in no part above 4 or 5 feet in height, and 12 in thickness; the ditch in most parts not above 3 feet in depth, no platforms laid, nor any artillery mounted: however, relying on the zeal and ardour which appeared in all ranks, they laid aside all thoughts of finishing it, and employed themselves in putting the post in the best posture of defence the shortness of the time would admit of. His Majesty's ships Albany, North, and Nautilus were in the river, the Commanders of which joined their efforts for their mutual safety.

On the 25th the enemy's fleet, to the number of 37 sail, appeared in sight, and at two in the afternoon their armed vessels began cannonading the ships of war and a battery of four twelve pounders which

which was thrown up on the banks of the river for the protection of the shipping; the warmth with which it was returned soon obliged them to retire, and anchor off the west end of the peninsula on which they were posted, and about the middle of which our fort was intended to be made. On the 26th they renewed their attack on the ships, but with the same success. The Commander had previously intrenched the isthmus which connects the peninsula with the main; and as the shipping guarded the entrance of the river, he was in no pain for their landing at any other part but the west end, where the natural strength of the ground gave him room to hope he should be able to protract the time to some length. On the night of the 25th, and during the 26th and 27th, they accordingly made several attempts to land, but were constantly repulsed by our piquet, consisting of a Captain and 80 men; and another party of 70 men, posted in a fleche, at hand to support the picquet. However, on the morning of the 28th, under cover of a very heavy cannonade, they effected their purpose, and obliged the piquet to retire to the fort before the garrison had any intelligence of their being landed, owing to the serjeant who was sent by the Captain losing his way in the woods. This obliged the Colonel to withdraw all his out-posts, and confine his attention to strengthening his works. On the 30th the enemy opened a battery at about 750 yards distance, and a few days after another about 50 yards nearer; from both which they cannonaded us briskly; and which continued with great spirit on both sides to the 12th of August, when a deserter came in and informed the garrison that the rebels intended attacking the ships, and storming the fort, at the same time, on the ensuing day; but the unexpected arrival of a fleet of six frigates from New York, under the command of Sir George Collier, obliged them to make a precipitate flight, and to take shelter on board their shipping.

H h h h

Sir

1779.

Sir Geo.
Collier
sails up
the river
Penob-
scot.

Sir George Collier lost no time in immediately proceeding up Penobscot bay; and the next morning (14th August) about eleven o'clock the rebel fleet presented themselves to our view, drawn up in a crescent across the river, and seemed inclined to dispute the passage; their resolution however soon failed them, and an unexpected and ignominious flight took place. The Blonde, Virginia, and Galatea were at this time advanced about three miles a-head; nevertheless, without waiting to form the Squadron, he made the signal for battle, and for a general chase: the King's ships followed them with all the eagerness which a desire of destroying their enemies could inspire, Two of the enemy's fleet (viz. the Hunter and Defence) made an unsuccessful attempt to get off by the west passage of Long Island; but failing in that. the Hunter run ashore with every sail standing, and the Defence hid herself in a small inlet, where she anchored, both intending to push out to sea so soon as it was dark. Lieutenant Mackey, of the Raifonable, being sent, and 50 men to board the Hunter, they succeeded without loss, though many popping shots were fired at them by the rebel crew from the woods.

Destroys
all the
rebel
fleet.

The King's ships continued their pursuit of the rebel fleet up the river Penobscot, and considerable hazard attended this part of the chase, from the extreme narrowness of the river, from the shoals, and from the flaming ships on each side; the Hampden, of 20 guns, finding herself so closely beset as not to be able to run ashore, surrendered. All the rest of the rebel fleet (amongst which a beautiful frigate called the Warren, of 32 guns 18 and 12 pounders) together with 24 sail of transports, were all blown up and destroyed. The loss of the Americans, which attended every part of this expedition, in value, was probably greater than upon any other occasion since the beginning of the war.

It

1779:

It is fit we should now turn our attention to the important transactions in the province of Georgia and Carolina. The latter end of April General Prevost, having received information that the rebel General Lincoln, (who till then had occupied a position on the North side of Savannah river) had marched the best part of his troops towards Augusta, with a design to penetrate into Georgia, to protect a meeting of the rebel Delegates; to oblige Lincoln to quitte his project, and to procure provisions for the army, he was was induced to penetrate into Carolina. The corps of observation of the rebel army being about 2000 men, chiefly militia, under the command of Brigadier Moultrie, surprised to see the British troops emerging from swamps deemed impassable, were struck with such a panic as to make but a weak resistance at the several strong passes through which they had to pass in pursuit of them, and fled with the greatest hurry and consternation towards Charles-Town. The enemy were so well persuaded that the British forces only meant to forage the country, that it was some days, after the progress of the Royal army into South Carolina, before Gen. Lincoln could be persuaded to retreat, and come to the assistance of Charles Town; to the relief of which he immediately detached a body of infantry, mounted for the purpose of dispatch; and, after collecting all the militia of the upper parts of the country, proceeded himself towards Dorchester; by that time the British army had arrived off Charles Town, notwithstanding the number of rivers, creeks, and swamps, together with the natural impediments of the country. Lieut. Col. Prevost, who commanded the advance, had orders to summon the town to surrender; but the want of a naval force to co-operate with the army, and of battering artillery, together with the approach of General Lincoln's army, actuated the town in the proposal they made of a neutrality for their province; and the refusal of the

General
Prevost
pene-
trates into
South
Carolina,
and
appears
before
Charles
Town.

1779.

the generous offers made to them, if they would surrender the numerous artillery mounted on their ramparts, the shipping and gallies covering and flanking their lines, and the small number of our forces fit for duty, being under 2000, made the General resolve to return to the South side of Ashfield River, where a part of the troops had been left to secure the passage of that river, and the retreat of the army, if necessary. A few days afterwards the army took post on St. John's Island, 12 miles from Charles Town, where they received a supply of ammunition and provisions, of which they were in great want.

General
Prevost
quits St
John's
Island,
and re-
tires to
Savannah

The season of the year was much against any further operations of the troops at this time; the excessive heat having rendered them sickly notwithstanding the plenty of refreshments they procured; the army was chiefly confined in removing from one island to another, and in establishing different posts intended to be occupied during the great heat, and the sickly season: however, on the 20th of June, after every preparation had been made to abandon the post on the main at Stony Ferry, and to quit the island of St John's, the enemy's whole force attacked that post with eight pieces of cannon, and 5000 men; their attack was at first spirited, but the good countenance of the troops, and the fire of the armed flat that covered the left flank of our post, just as the troops were ferrying over to reinforce it, obliged the enemy to retreat; a favourable opportunity of pursuing, and giving them a severe check, was lost for the want of the horses, which had been sent away two or three days before; and before the troops arrived on the ground they had got too great a distance to expect to come up with them on the foot. Lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who commanded there, had with him the first battalion 71st, then much reduced, a weak battalion of Hessians, and the refugees of North
and

and South Carolina, amounting in the whole to about 800 men; they all behaved with coolness and bravery. The enemy lost a Colonel of artillery much esteemed amongst them, about 28 officers of different ranks, and between 3 and 400 killed and wounded. The troops, after remaining three days longer on that ground, at last abandoned it, and arrived at Port Royal island, where a corps was left sufficient to act at all times upon a most respectable defensive, and occasionally to harass the quarters of the enemy, and those parts of the province that are accessible to our gallies and boats from the bay of St Helena. The General not thinking it eligible to extend the post of the army far to the westward, returned with the remainder of the army to Savannah, having no intelligence of the formidable enemy who was shortly to appear before that place, and who was to give a new and strange turn to the circumstances of the war.

1779.

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For in the beginning of September the French fleet, under the command of the Count D'Estaing, consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of 50 guns, and eleven frigates, arrived on the coast, having a large body of troops, purposely for the reduction of Georgia. D'Estaing having previously dispatched two ships of the line, and three frigates, to Charles Town, to announce his coming, and to prepare the rebel force by sea and land to join him; these two ships of the line and frigates were seen from Tybee the 3d of September, and easily known to be French. The same day 41 sail were discovered to the southward of Tybee plying to windward, Major General Prevost on their appearance went to work with every exertion to increase the fortifications of the town; dispatches were sent to Colonel Maitland, who was posted with part of the army on Port Royal island, and to Capt. Christian, of his Majesty's ship Vigilant, to repair to Savannah as soon as possible with the troops, ships, and gallies there.

Count  
D Estaing  
with the  
French  
fleet  
appears  
before  
Savannah



1779.

there. On the 9th of September the whole French fleet anchored off the bar, and next day four French frigates came to Tybee anchorage. It was determined on their approach to run up the river with the King's ships, and to join the naval force with the General's for the defence of the town. At this time the French were sending troops from their ships, in small craft from Charles Town, which were landed in launches at Bowley, 13 miles from Savannah, under cover of four galleys and three frigates.

From the 10th to the 16th of September great quantities of cannon and ammunition were landed at Savannah, in vessels sent by the General for that purpose, from the Fowey and Rose ships of war. The seamen belonging to these vessels were appointed to different batteries, and the marines incorporated with the 60th regiment. Capt. Moncrief, principal engineer, was indefatigable night and day raising new works and batteries, and in paying every attention to increase the defence of the town, which astonished the enemy, who now summoned the General to surrender the town to the arms of his most Christian Majesty. D'Estaing, who sent the summons, at the same time acquainting the Commander that his troops were the same who had so recently stormed and conquered the Grenades; that their courage and present ardour was so great that any works which was raised, or any opposition that could be made, would be of no import. Not intimidated with this language, the gallant General (for forms sake, and in expectation of a large reinforcement from Beaufort, which happily arrived at a critical moment) called a meeting of field and sea officers, when it was resolved to take 24 hours to consider of it. At the expiration of that time the Count D'Estaing had his final answer, that the troops were unanimously determined to defend the town to the last man.

It

It being apprehended the enemy's ships might come too near the town and annoy the rear of our lines, it was judged expedient to sink a number of vessels to stop the passage: his Majesty's ship *Rose*, making at this time seventeen inches water an hour, and her men, guns, and ammunition being on shore, she was thought the most eligible, as her weight would keep her across the channel, when lighter vessels could not, owing to the rapidity of the current and hard sandy bottom, which prevented the sticking fast where they were sunk. The Savannah armed ship, purchased into the King's service by order of Commodore Sir James Wallace some time before, was scuttled and sunk also; four transports were sunk besides, which blocked up the channel; several smaller vessels were also sunk above the town; and a boom laid across, to prevent the enemy sending down fire-rafts among the shipping, or landing troops in our rear.

The French having now made regular approaches, and finished their batteries of mortars and cannon near enough to the works, on the 3d of October, at midnight, opened their bomb-battery of nine large mortars: at day break they also opened with thirty-seven pieces of heavy cannon, landed from the fleet, and fired on the lines and batteries with great fury. This lasted day and night until the morning of the 9th, when finding little notice taken of their shot and shells, at day-break stormed, with their whole force, the Count D'Estaing at their head. This attempt proved most fatal to them, for they met with so severe a repulse from only three hundred men, assisted by the grape shot from the batteries, that from this day they worked with indefatigable labour to carry off their cannon and mortars. And on the night of the 17th entirely quitted their works, retreated to their boats, and embarked under cover of their gallies. General Lincoln, with the rebel army, retreated up the country

1779.

D'Estaing  
totally  
repulsed.

1779. try with great precipitation, burning every bridge behind him; and his army is totally disperied.

The land forces on board D'Estaing's fleet amounted to about 5500 men. The rebel force consisted of above 3000 men, besides some hundreds of free blacks and mulattoes taken on board in the West Indies. The loss of the British forces was only one Captain and 15 rank and file killed, and a Captain, 3 subalterns, and 35 wounded; that of the enemy exceeded 1200 killed and wounded, among the latter were Count D'Estaing, M. de Fontagne, Major General Count Polasky, since dead, and several others of distinction. The only officer killed of the British was the gallant Capt. Taws, of the dragoons, and who nobly fell with his sword in the body of the third he had killed with his own hand.

Thus, was an end, for the present, happily put to the ambitious designs of our enemies by a force so inferior, that mere preservation was the summit of their hope; and when the whole circumstances are considered, there never was a defence of so much difficulty conducted with more steady perseverance, or accomplished with more vigour and ability; yet all these difficulties were surmounted by the genius of the commander in chief, the gallantry of the officers, and the bravery of the British troops. It is hoped this defeat will convince our enemies of the folly of interposing in a quarrel between subjects and their sovereign; and it is now in the bosom of fate, whether France or Great Britain shall give law to America.

## APPENDIX.

Vol II of the  
work notices in  
the pub. notice at beginning  
of the XVIII. End here,  
but there is an app. note  
the treaty of Paris Feb. 6. 1778 - the same  
given in 57 of the following  
chapters.



A P P E N D I X,  
CONTAINING A COLLECTION OF  
INTERESTING AND AUTHENTIC  
P A P E R S,  
RELATIVE TO THE  
C O N T E S T  
BETWEEN  
G R E A T B R I T A I N  
AND  
H E R C O L O N I E S.

Necessary to elucidate the History.

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# A P P E N D I X.

Containing a Collection of interesting and authentic  
PAPERS, relative to the CONTEST between  
GREAT BRITAIN and HER COLONIES,  
necessary to elucidate the History.

THE dispute between Great-Britain and America commenced in the year 1764, with an attempt to prevent smuggling in America. There are some persons who apprehend the seeds of it were sown much earlier. They may be right.—But it is not the design of this compilation to explain motives, or explore latent causes. The object here is, to present an impartial collection of authentic Documents; with such additions only, as are absolutely necessary to connect the narrative.

In 1764, the British ministry having come to a resolution, to prevent, as much as possible, the practice of smuggling, not only the commanders of the armed cutters stationed on the British coasts, but of the ships sent to America, were ordered to act in the capacity of revenue officers, to take the usual Custom-house oaths, and observe the Custom-house regulations; by which that enterprising spirit of theirs, which had been lately, with great success, exerted against the common enemy, was now directed and encouraged against the subject. Trade was injured by this measure. The gentlemen of the navy were not acquainted with Custom-house laws, and therefore many illegal seizures were made. The subject in America could get no redress but from England, which was tedious and difficult to obtain.

A trade had for many years been carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, consisting of the manufactures of Great-Britain, imported by the British colonies as for their own consumption, and bought with their own produce; for which they were paid by the Spaniards in gold and silver, sometimes in bullion and sometimes in coin, and with cochineal, &c. occasionally. This trade was not literally and strictly according to law, yet the advantage of it being obvious on the side of Great-Britain and her colonies, it had been connived at. But the armed ships, under the new regulations, seized the vessels; and this beneficial traffic was suddenly almost destroyed. Another trade had been carried on between the North American colonies and the French West India islands, to the great advantage of both, as well as to the mother country. These matters had been winked at many years, in consideration of the quantity of manufactures our North American colonies were thereby enabled to take from us. This advantageous commerce not only prevented the British colonies being drained of their current specie by the calls of the mother country, but added to their common circulation of cash;



cash; which encreased in proportion with the trade. But this trade being also cut off, by the cruizers, all America became uneasy.

On the 10th of March, 1764, the House of Commons agreed to a number of resolutions respecting the American trade; upon several of which, a bill was brought in, and passed into a law, laying heavy duties on the articles imported into the colonies from the French and other islands in the West Indies; and ordering these duties to be paid, in specie, into the Exchequer of Great-Britain. As to the Spanish trade, the Court of Madrid had always been against it; and in complaisance to that Court, as well as in compliance with the old law, and treaties with Spain, it continued to be prevented, as much as possible.

The Americans complained much of this new law; and of the unexampled hardship, of first being deprived of obtaining specie, and next being ordered to pay the new duties, in specie, into the Treasury at London; which they said must speedily drain them of all the specie they had. But what seemed most particularly hard upon them, was, a bill brought in the last session, and passed into a law, "To restrain the currency of paper money in the colonies.

At the end of the session, the King thanked the House of Commons, for the "wise regulations which had been established to augment the public revenues, to unite the interests of the most distant possessions of his crown, and to encourage and secure their commerce with Great-Britain.

At the same time (March 10, 1764) the House of Commons resolved, that it was proper to charge certain stamp duties in the colonies and plantations.

This resolution was not this year followed by any bill, being only to be held out as an *intention*, for next year. It was proposed, and agreed to, in a thin House, and late at night, and just at the rising without any debate.

The assemblies of Massachusetts-Bay and New-York, were alarmed at this resolution. They came to some resolutions upon it; which, with a petition from each, to the House of Commons, against it, were transmitted to the Board of Trade in England. They were laid before the Privy Council on the 11th of December, 1764. The Privy Council advised the King to lay them before Parliament. They were never laid before Parliament—they were suppressed.

In the spring of 1765, the American agents in London were informed by administration, That if the colonies would propose any other mode of raising the sum intended to be raised by stamp duties, their proposals would be accepted, and the stamp duty laid aside. The agents said they were not authorized to give any answer, but that they were ordered to oppose the bill when it should be brought into the House, by petitions questioning the right claimed by parliament of taxing the colonies.

The bill laying a stamp duty in America, passed in March, 1765. The following was printed at the time as part of the Debates on the bill:

Mr. Grenville, after speaking long in favour of the bill, concluded with saying, "These children of our own planting (speaking of the Americans) nourished by our indulgence, until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they  
grudge

grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expence, which we lie under?"

*Colonel Barre* replied, "*Children planted by your care!* No! your oppression planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny, into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others, to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country, a people of the most subtle, and I take upon me to say, the most truly terrible, of any people that ever inhabited any part of GOD'S EARTH; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends.

"*They nourished up by your indulgence!* They grew by your neglect of them: as soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of some deputy, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men, whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to foreign countries, to escape being brought to a bar of justice in their own.

"*They protested by your arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valour amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontiers, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded all its little savings to your enlargement; and believe me, remember I this day told you so, That the same spirit which actuated that people at first, will continue with them still; but prudence forbids me to explain myself any further. God knows, I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, any one here may be, yet I claim to know more of America, having seen and been more conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the King has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should be violated;—but the subject is delicate. I will say no more."

At the end of the session, the King said to the House of Commons, "I have seen, with the most perfect approbation, that you have employed this season of tranquility in promoting those objects which I have recommended to your attention, and in framing such regulations as may best enforce the just authority of the legislature, and, at the same time, secure and extend the commerce, and unite the interests of every part of my dominions."

The objections of the people of America to the stamp act, were of three kinds.

First, The powers given by the act to the Vice-Admiralty courts in America, they said, would prove exceedingly grievous to the subject, by the distance of them; and more so, by depriving the subject of his trial by jury, which was allowed in England.

Secondly, Because the stamp duty would entirely drain the colonies of their specie.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Not being represented in the Parliament of Great Britain, that Parliament, they affirmed, had no right to tax them. Themselves only were the proper, and best judges of their ability; they claimed a right to the exercise of this judgement, and to the sole and exclusive right of imposing taxes upon themselves.

As soon as they were informed the stamp act had passed, the whole continent of America was thrown into a flame.

The province of Virginia took the lead. On the 29th of May, 1765, the House of Burgesses of Virginia, came to the following resolutions:

Whereas the Honourable House of Commons in England, have of late drawn into question, how far the General Assembly of this colony hath power to enact laws for laying taxes and imposing duties, payable by the people of this, his Majesty's most antient colony; for settling and ascertaining the same to all future times, the House of Burgesses of this present General Assembly have come to the several following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the first adventurers and settlers of this his Majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his Majesty's subjects since inhabiting in this his Majesty's colony, all the privileges and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

*Resolved*, That by the two royal charters granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all privileges of faithful liege and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

*Resolved*, That his Majesty's liege people of this his most ancient colony, have enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own Assembly, in the article of taxes and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited, or any other way yielded up, but have been constantly recognized by the King and people of Great Britain.

*Resolved*, Therefore, that the General Assembly of this colony, together with his Majesty or his substitute, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to invest such a power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American freedom.

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The sum expected to be raised by the stamp-duty, was, £.100,000 *per annum*.

On the 9th of July 1765, the board of treasury (in London) entered upon their books the following minute: "That, in order to obviate the inconveniences of bringing into this kingdom the money to be raised by the stamp-duties, all the produce of the American duties, arising or to arise by virtue of any British act of parliament, should from time to time be paid to the deputy pay-masser in America, to defray the subsistence of the troops, and any military expences incurred in the colonies."

In June 1765, the king thought proper to dismiss his ministers. The Marquis of Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury, and others, his lordship's friends, succeeded to the vacant places.

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The resolutions of the house of burgesses of Virginia being laid before the new board of trade, they, on the 27th of August, represented to the king in council, "That the resolutions, as they contain an absolute disavowal of the right of the parliament of Great Britain to impose taxes upon her colonies, and a daring attack upon the constitution of this country, appear to us to require an immediate and serious attention; and whatever further measures your Majesty may, with the advice of your council, judge proper to be taken either for expressing your royal disapprobation of these proceedings, or for preventing the fatal consequences which they naturally tend to produce, we think it our duty to submit to your Majesty's consideration, whether, in the mean time, it may not be expedient to dispatch immediate instructions to your Majesty's servants in your Majesty's colony of Virginia, who may be concerned in enforcing the execution of the law for levying the duty upon stamps, that they do each in their several department, in support of the authority of parliament, vigorously exert themselves, and with becoming resolution upon every occasion, exact a due obedience to the laws of the land."

Parliament, however, did not meet for business till January 1776, when the following papers were laid before both houses.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Secretary Conway, to Lieut. Governor Fauquier.*

S I R,

*Sept. 14. 1765.*

IT is with the greatest pleasure I received his Majesty's commands to declare to you his most gracious approbation of your conduct. His Majesty and his servants are satisfied, that the precipitate resolutions you sent home did not take their rise from any remissness or intention in you; nor is his Majesty at all inclined to suppose, that any instance of diffidence or dissatisfaction could be founded in the general inclination of his antient and loyal colony of Virginia; the nature of the thing and your representations induce a persuasion, that those ill-advised resolutions owed their birth to the violence of some individuals, who taking the advantage of a thin assembly, so far prevailed, as to publish their own unformed opinions to the world as the sentiments of the colony. But his Majesty, Sir, will not, by the prevalence of a few men, at a certain moment, be persuaded to change the opinion, or lessen the confidence, he has always entertained of the colony of Virginia; which has always experienced the protection of the crown. His Majesty's servants, therefore, with entire reliance on your prudence, and on the virtue and wisdom of the colony entrusted to your care, persuade themselves, that when a full assembly shall calmly and maturely deliberate upon those resolutions, they will see, and be themselves alarmed at, the dangerous tendency and mischievous consequences which they might be productive of, both to the mother country and the colonies, which are the equal objects of his Majesty's paternal care; and whose mutual happiness and prosperity certainly require a confidential reliance of the colonies upon the mother country.

Upon these principles, Sir, and upon your prudent management, and a proper representation to the wise and sober part of the people how earnest his Majesty is to extend the happy influence of his fatherly care over every part of his dominions, it is expected that a full assembly will form very different resolutions, such as may cement that union, which  
alone

alone can establish the safety and prosperity of the colonies and the mother country.

As there is no intention in the crown to attempt, nor in the King's servants to advise, any incroachments on the real rights and liberties of any part of his Majesty's subjects; so neither will his Majesty undoubtedly submit, or his servants advise, under any circumstances, that the respect which is due to parliament, and which is necessary for the good of the whole British empire should any where be made a sacrifice to local and dangerous prejudices.

As this important matter is, however, now before his Majesty's privy council, as well as the other consideration of the dangerous riot and mutinous behaviour of the people on the frontiers, I shall not pretend to give any advice or instructions upon these subjects; not doubting, but you will soon have the fullest from the wisdom of that board, in all those things, in which, by your last accounts, the most essential interests of the colony are so deeply concerned.

You will therefore, in the mean time, be very attentive, by every prudent measure in your power, at once to maintain the just rights of the British government, and to preserve the peace and tranquility of the provinces committed to your care.

But as these appear to me matters of government fit for his Majesty's more immediate notice and information, I must beg you will not fail to transmit to me such occurrences, from time to time, on these heads, as you may deem of importance in the light I mention. I am, &c.

H. S. CONWAY.

*Extract of a letter, from Mr. Secretary Conway, to Major General Gage.*

S I R,

*October 24, 1765.*

IT is with the greatest concern, that his Majesty learns the disturbances which have arisen in some of the North American colonies: these events will probably create application to you, in which the utmost exertion of your prudence may be necessary; so as justly to temper your conduct between that caution and coolness, which the delicacy of such a situation may demand on one hand, and the vigour necessary to suppress outrage and violence on the other. It is impossible at this distance, to assist you by any particular or positive instruction, because you will find yourself necessarily obliged to take your resolution as particular circumstances and emergencies may require.

It is hoped, and expected, that this want of confidence in the justice and tenderness of the mother country, and this open resistance to its authority, can only have found place among the lower and more ignorant of the people. The better and wiser part of the colonies will know, that decency and submission may prevail, not only to redress grievances, but to obtain grace and favour, while the outrage of a public violence can expect nothing but severity and chastisement. You, and all his Majesty's servants, from a sense of your duty to, and love of, your country, will endeavour to excite and encourage these sentiments.

If, by lenient and persuasive methods, you can contribute to restore that peace and tranquility to the provinces, on which their welfare and happiness depend, you will do a most acceptable and essential service to  
your

your country : but having taken every step which the utmost prudence and lenity can dictate, in compassion to the folly and ignorance of some misguided people, you will not, on the other hand, where your assistance may be wanted to strengthen the hands of government, fail to concur in every proper measure for its support, by such a timely exertion of force, as may be necessary to repel acts of outrage and violence, and to provide for the maintenance of peace and good order in the provinces.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Secretary Conway, to Governor Bernard.*

S I R,

*October 24, 1765.*

YOUR letters of the 15th, 16th, 22d, and 31st of August, have been received ; the three former not till yesterday.

It is with the greatest concern his Majesty learns the disturbances which have lately arisen in your province, the general confusion that seems to reign there, and the total languor and want of energy, in your government, to exert itself with any dignity or efficacy, for the suppression of tumults, which seem to strike at the very being of all authority and subordination among you. His Majesty cannot but, with the greatest surprize hear of, the refusal of your council to call for the aid of any regular force to the support of the civil magistracy, at a time when, it seems, you had reason to think, there was no other power capable of providing for the peace and quiet of the province.

Nothing can, certainly, exceed the ill-advised and intemperate conduct held by a party in your province, which can in no way contribute to the removal of any real grievance they might labour under, but may tend to obstruct and impede the exertion of his Majesty's benevolent attention to the ease and comfort, as well as the welfare of all his people.

It is hoped, and expected, that this want of confidence in the justice and tenderness of the mother country, and this open resistance to its authority, can only have found place among the lower and more ignorant of the people ; the better and more wise part of the colonies will know, that decency and submission may prevail, not only to redress grievances, but to obtain grace and favour, while the outrage of a public violence can expect nothing but severity and chastisement. These sentiments, you, and all his Majesty's servants, from a sense of your duty to, and love of, your country, will endeavour to excite and encourage : you will all, in a particular manner, call upon them not to render their case desperate ; you will, in the strongest colours, represent to them the dreadful consequences that must inevitably attend the forcible and violent resistance to acts of the British parliament, and the scene of misery and distraction to both countries inseparable from such a conduct.

If, by lenient and persuasive methods, you can contribute to restore that peace and tranquility to the provinces, on which their welfare and happiness depend, you will do a most acceptable and essential service to your country ; but having taken every step which the utmost prudence and lenity can dictate, in compassion to the folly and ignorance of some misguided people, you will not, on the other hand, fail to use your utmost power for repelling all acts of outrage and violence, and to provide for the maintenance of peace and good order in the province, by such a timely exertion of force, as the occasion may require ; for which purpose, you will make the proper applications to General Gage, or Lord Colvil,



commanders of his Majesty's land and naval forces in America : for however unwilling his Majesty may consent to the exertion of such powers as may endanger the safety of a single subject, yet can he not permit his own dignity, and the authority of the British legislature, to be trampled on by force and violence, and in avowed contempt of all order, duty and decorum.

If the subject is aggrieved, he knows in what manner legally and constitutionally to apply for relief : but it is not suitable, either to the safety or dignity of the British empire, that any individuals, under the pretence of redressing grievances, should presume to violate the public peace.

I am, &c.

H. S. CONWAY.

P. S. The sloop which carries this will carry orders to Lord Colvil, and to the Governor of Nova Scotia, to send to your assistance any force which may be thought necessary from thence, and which that province can supply.

The King having, in his speech, recommended to the consideration of parliament the affairs of America, a debate naturally followed on the address.

The new ministers spoke tenderly of the disturbances and confusions in America. The late ministers (at this time in opposition) were quite the reverse.

Earl Nugent (then Mr. Nugent) insisted, 'That the honour and dignity of the kingdom, obliged us to compel the execution of the stamp-act, except the right was acknowledged, and the repeal solicited as a favour. He computed the expence of the troops now employed in America for their defence, as he called it, to amount to nine-pence in the pound of our land tax ; while the produce of the stamp-act would not raise a shilling a head on the inhabitants of America ; but that a pepper-corn, in acknowledgment of the right, was of more value, than millions without. He expatiated on the extreme ingratitude of the colonies ; and concluded, with charging the ministry with encouraging petitions to parliament, and instructions to members from trading and manufacturing towns, against the act.

Mr. Pitt (now Lord Chatham) spoke next. And he always begins very low, and as every body was in agitation at his first rising, his introduction was not heard, 'till he said, 'I came to town but to-day ; I was a stranger to the tenor of his Majesty's speech, and the proposed address, 'till I heard them read in this house. Unconnected and unconsulted I have not the means of information ; I am fearful of offending through mistake, and therefore beg to be indulged with a second reading of the proposed address.' The address being read, Mr. Pitt went on :—He commended the King's speech, approved of the address in answer, as it decided nothing, every gentleman being left at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America, as he might afterwards see fit. One word only he could not approve of, an *early*, is a word that does not belong to the notice the ministry has given to parliament of the troubles in America. In a matter of such importance, the communication ought to have been immediate ; I speak not with respect to parties ; I stand up in this place, single and unconnected. As to the late ministry, (turning himself

himself to Mr. Grenville, who sat within one of him) every capital measure they have taken, has been entirely wrong!

‘As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye (looking at the bench where Mr. Conway sat, with the lords of the treasury) I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his Majesty’s service. Some of them have done me the honour to ask my poor opinion, before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own, I advised them to engage; but notwithstanding—I love to be explicit—I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, gentlemen, (bowing to the ministry) confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom: youth is the season of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks, I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence.

‘There is a clause in the act of settlement, to oblige every minister to sign his name to the advice which he gives his sovereign. Would it were observed!—I have had the honour to serve the crown, and if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others.—I have no local attachments: it is indifferent to me, whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side the Tweed.—I sought for merit wherever it was to be found.—It is my boast, that I was the first minister who looked for it, and I found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew it into your service, an hardy and intrepid race of men! men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state, in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side: they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world: detested be the national reflections against them!—they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his Majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved—but the man of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom.

‘It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in parliament. When the resolution was taken in the house to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences! I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. It is now an act that has passed—I would speak with decency of every act of this house, but I must beg the indulgence of the house to speak of it with freedom.

‘I hope a day may be soon appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America.—I hope, gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality his Majesty recommends, and the importance of the subject requires. A subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this house! that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question, whether you yourselves were to be bound, or free. In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity,

equity, the policy, the expediency of the act, to another time. I will only speak to one point, a point which seems not to have been generally understood—I mean to the right. Some gentlemen (alluding to Mr. Nugent) seem to have considered it as a point of honour. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong, to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies, to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever.—They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen. Equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power.—The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone. In ancient days, the crown, the barons, and the clergy possessed the lands. In those days, the barons and the clergy gave and granted to the crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the commons are become the proprietors of the land. The crown has divested itself of its great estates. The church (God bless it) has but a pittance. The property of the lords, compared with that of the commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean: and this house represents those commons, the proprietors of the lands; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this house we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's commons of Great-Britain, give and grant to your Majesty, what? Our own property?—No. We give and grant to your Majesty, the property of your Majesty's commons in America.—It is an absurdity in terms.—

‘The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown, the peers, are equally legislative powers with the commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown, the peers have rights in taxation as well as yourselves: rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.

‘There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough which perhaps no man ever saw—This is what is called, the rotten part of the constitution.—It cannot continue the century—If it does not drop, it must be amputated.—The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man—It does not deserve a serious refutation.

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'The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.—Here I would draw the line, *Quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*'

He concluded with a familiar voice and tone, but so low that it was not easy to distinguish what he said. A considerable pause ensued after Mr. Pitt had done speaking.

Mr. Conway at length got up. He said, 'he had been waiting to see whether any answer would be given to what had been advanced by the right honourable gentleman, reserving himself for the reply: but as none had been given, he had only to declare, that his own sentiments were entirely conformable to those of the right honourable gentleman.—That they are so conformable, he said, is a circumstance that affects me with most sensible pleasure, and does me the greatest honour. But two things fell from that gentleman which give me pain, as whatever falls from that gentleman, falls from so great a height as to make a deep impression. I must endeavour to remove it. It was objected, that the notice given to parliament of the troubles in America was not early. I can assure the house, the first accounts were too vague and imperfect to be worth the notice of parliament. It is only of late that they have been precise and full. An over-ruling influence has also been hinted at. I see nothing of it. I feel nothing of it. I disclaim it for myself, and (as far as my discernment can reach) for all the rest of his Majesty's ministers.'

Mr. Pitt said, in answer to Mr. Conway, 'The excuse is a valid one, if it is a just one. That must appear from the papers now before the house.' Mr. Grenville next stood up. He began with censuring the ministry very severely, for delaying to give earlier notice to parliament of the disturbances in America. He said, 'they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name to take that of revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and only differ in name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been exercised, over those who are not, who were never represented. It is exercised over the India company, the merchants of London, the proprietors of the stocks, and over many great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the palatinate of Chester, and the bishopric of Durham, before they sent any representatives to parliament. I appeal for proof to the preambles of the acts which gave them representatives:

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the one in the reign of Henry VIII. the other in that of Charles II.' Mr. Grenville then quoted the acts, and desired that they might be read; which being done, he said: 'When I proposed to tax America, I asked the house, if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great-Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me where the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them their protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expence, an expence arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in the house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence? Let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honour of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel, by which alone North-America used to be supplied with cash for remittances to this country. I defy any man to produce any such orders or instructions. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of parliament. I desire a West-India merchant, well known in the city (Mr. Long) a gentleman of character, may be examined. He will tell you, that I offered to do every thing in my power to advance the trade of America. I was above giving an answer to anonymous calumnies; but in this place, it becomes one to wipe off the aspersion.'

Here Mr. Grenville ceased. Several members got up to speak, but Mr. Pitt seeming to rise, the house was so clamorous for Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt, that the speaker was obliged to call to order. After obtaining a little quiet, he said, 'Mr. Pitt was up;' who began with informing the house, 'That he did not mean to have gone any further upon the subject that day; that he had only designed to have thrown out a few hints, which, gentlemen who were so confident of the right of this kingdom to send taxes to America, might consider; might, perhaps, reflect, in a cooler moment, that the right was at least equivocal. But since the gentlemen, who spoke last, had not stopped on that ground, but had gone into the whole; into the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the stamp-act, as well as into the right, he would follow him through the whole field, and combat his arguments on every point.'

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He was going on, when the late Lord Strange got up, and called both the gentlemen, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Grenville, to order. He said, 'they had both departed from the matter before the house, which was the King's speech; and that Mr. Pitt was going to speak twice upon the same debate, although the house was not in a committee.'

Mr. Onslow (now Lord Onslow) answered, 'That they were both in order, as nothing had been said, but what was fairly deducible from the King's speech;' and appealed to the Speaker. The Speaker decided in Mr. Onslow's favour.

Mr. Pitt said, 'I do not apprehend I am speaking twice: I did expressly reserve a part of my subject, in order to save the time of this house, but I am compelled to proceed in it. I do not speak twice; I only finished what I designedly left imperfect. But if the house is of a different opinion, far be it from me to indulge a wish of transgression, against order. I am content, if it be your pleasure, to be silent.'—Here he paused.—The house resounded with, Go on, go on; he proceeded:

'Gentlemen, Sir, (to the Speaker) I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom, against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this house, imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us, America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here armed at all points, with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dogs-ears, to defend the cause of liberty: if I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham. I would have cited them, to have shewn, that, even under any arbitrary reigns, parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham? He might have taken a higher example in Wales; Wales, that never was taxed by parliament till it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman: I know his abilities. I have been obliged to his diligent researches. But, for the defence of liberty upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I stand firm; on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed, and are not represented. The India company, merchants, stock-holders, manufacturers. Surely many of these are represented in other capacities, as owners of land, or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented. But they are all inhabitants, and, as such, are virtually represented. Many have it in their option to be actually represented. They have connections with those that elect, and they have influence over them. The gentleman mentioned the stock-holders: I hope he does not reckon the debts of the nation as a part of the national estate. Since the accession of King William, many ministers,



ministers, some of great, others of more moderate abilities, have taken the lead of government.

He then went through the list of them, bringing it down till he came to himself, giving a short sketch of the characters of each of them. 'None of these, he said, thought, or ever dreamed, of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark the era of the late administration: not that there were wanting some, when I had the honour to serve his Majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American stamp-act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous, and unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! Are not those bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America, I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain, that the parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

'If the gentleman does not understand the difference between internal and external taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; altho', in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

'The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know, when they were made slaves? But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I availed myself of the means of information, which I derived from my office: I speak therefore from knowledge. My materials were good. I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, three score years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may be now sold for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the Exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation! I dare not say, how much higher these profits may be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people, by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the migration from every part of Europe. I am convinced the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited, where you ought to have encouraged; and you have encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints

restraints have been laid on the continent, in favour of the Islands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong, much may be mended for the general good of the whole.

‘Does the gentleman complain he has been misrepresented in the public prints? It is a common misfortune. In the Spanish affair of the last war, I was abused in all the news-papers for having advised his Majesty to violate the law of nations with regard to Spain. The abuse was industriously circulated even in hand-bills. If administration did not propagate the abuse, administration never contradicted it. I will not say what advice I did give to the King. My advice is in writing, signed by myself, in the possession of the crown. But I will say what advice I did not give to the King: I did not advise him to violate any of the laws of nations.

‘As to the report of the gentlemen’s preventing in some way the trade for bullion with the Spaniards, it was spoken of so confidently, that I own I am one of those who did believe it to be true.

‘The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as the minister, he asserted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house which does not chuse to contradict a minister. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps, the collective body may begin to abate of the respect for the representative. Lord Bacon had told me, that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another. I was willing to agitate that at the proper season, the German war: my German war, they called it. Every session I called out, has any body any objections to the German war? No body would object to it, one gentleman only excepted, since removed to the upper house, by succession to an ancient barony, (meaning Lord le Despencer, formerly Sir Francis Dashwood;) ‘he told me “he did not like a German war,” I honoured the man for it, and was sorry when he was turned out of his post,

‘A great deal has been said without doors, of the power and of the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America, out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience, to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the stamp-act, when so many here will think it a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

‘In such a cause your success would be hazardous.—America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheath the sword in its scabbard, but to sheath it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole house of Bourbon is united against you? While

France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave trade to Africa, and with-holds from your subjects in Canada, their property stipulated by treaty; while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer, a gentleman (Sir W. Draper) whose noble and generous spirit would do honour to the proudest grandee of the country. The Americans have not in all things acted with prudence and temper. They have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America, that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

' Be to her faults a little blind:

' Be to her virtues very kind.

' Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. It is, that the stamp-act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent!

This debate determined the repeal of the stamp-act. At the same time a bill was brought in, and passed, for securing the dependence of America on Great Britain, in which it was asserted, "That the Parliament of Great Britain, had a right to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever."

But notwithstanding the repeal of the stamp-act, which had no other effect than dissolving the non-importation agreements formerly entered into, with regard to all commodities imported from Britain, the flame was only smothered for a little time, seemingly that it might break out with greater violence, which it did, on the passing of an act to allow the East-India Company to export their teas to America duty free. Several ships freighted with it were sent to the American Colonies, which they considered as a method of insensibly subjecting them to taxation, and from this time we may date the total cessation of all kind of friendship between Great Britain and her Colonies, as will appear by a perusal of the following Authentic Papers.

*Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, entered into by the Delegates of the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. in General Congress, met at Philadelphia, May 20th, 1775.*

ARTICLE I. The name of the confederacy shall henceforth be, The United Colonies of North America.

II. The united colonies hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, binding on themselves and their posterity, for their common defence against their enemies, for the security of



of their liberties and properties, the safety of their persons and families, and their mutual and general welfare.

III. That each colony shall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and peculiar jurisdictions, within its own limits; and may amend its own constitution, as shall seem best to its own assembly or convention.

IV. That for the more convenient management of general interests, delegates shall be elected annually, in each colony, to meet in General Congress, at such time and place as shall be agreed on in the next preceding Congress. Only where particular circumstances do not make a deviation necessary, it is understood to be a rule, that each succeeding Congress is to be held in a different colony, till the whole number be gone through, and so in perpetual rotation; and that accordingly, the next Congress after the present shall be held at Annapolis, in Maryland.

V. That the power and duty of the Congress shall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great-Britain, the settling all disputes between colony and colony, if any should arise, and the planting new colonies where proper. The Congress shall also make such general ordinances thought necessary to the general welfare, of which particular assemblies cannot be competent, viz. those that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the establishment of posts, the regulation of our common forces; the Congress shall also have the appointment of all officers civil and military, appertaining to the general confederacy, such as general treasurer, secretary, &c. &c. &c.

VI. All charges of war, and all other general expences to be incurred for the common welfare, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which is to be supplied by each colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age; the taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each colony.

VII. The number of delegates to be elected, and sent to the Congress by each colony, shall be regulated from time to time, by the number of such polls returned; so as that one delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. And the delegates are to bring with them to every Congress an authenticated return of the number of polls in their respective colonies, which is to be taken for the purposes above mentioned.

VIII. At every meeting of the Congress, one half of the members returned, exclusive of proxies, shall be necessary to make a quorum; and each delegate at the Congress shall have a vote in all cases; and if necessarily absent, shall be allowed to appoint any other delegate from the same colony to be his proxy, who may vote for him.

IX. An executive council shall be appointed by the Congress out of their own body, consisting of 12 persons, of whom in the first appointment, one third, viz. four, shall be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; and as the said terms expire, the vacancies shall be filled up by appointments for three years, whereby one third of the members will be chosen annually; and each person who has served the same term of three years as counsellor, shall have a respite

a respite of three years, before he can be elected again. This council, of whom two-thirds shall be a quorum, in the recess of the Congress, is to execute what shall have been enjoined thereby; to manage the general continental business and interests, to receive applications from foreign countries, to prepare matters for the consideration of the Congress, to fill up, *pro tempore*, continental offices that fall vacant, and to draw on the general treasurer for such monies as may be necessary for general services, and appropriated by the Congress to such services.

X. No colony shall engage in an offensive war with any nation of Indians, without the consent of the Congress or great council above-mentioned, who are first to consider the justice and necessity of such war.

XI. A perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, is to be entered into, as soon as may be, with the Six Nations; their limits ascertained, and to be secured to them; their lands not to be encroached on, nor any private or colony purchase to be made of them hereafter to be held good, nor any contract for lands to be made, but between the great council of the Indians at Onondaga and the general Congress. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indians shall also be ascertained and secured to them in the same manner; and persons appointed to reside among them in proper districts, who shall take care to prevent injustice in the trade with them; and be enabled at our general expence, by occasional small supplies, to relieve their personal wants and distresses; and all purchases from them shall be by the Congress, for the general advantage and benefit of the united colonies.

XII. As all new institutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can discover, it is agreed that the General Congress, from time to time, shall propose such amendments of this constitution as may be found necessary, which being approved by a majority of the colony assemblies, shall be equally binding with the rest of the articles of this confederation.

XIII. Any and every colony from Great-Britain upon the continent of North-America, not at present engaged in our association, may, upon application, and joining the said association, be received into the confederation, viz. Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, Bermudas, and the East and West Floridas, and shall thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of our union, mutual assistance, and commerce.

These articles shall be proposed to the several provincial conventions or assemblies, to be by them considered; and, if approved, they are advised to empower their delegates to agree and ratify the same in the ensuing Congress; after which the union thereby established is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation proposed in the petition of the last Congress to the King are agreed to; till the acts, since made, restraining the American commerce and fisheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boston by shutting up its port; for burning Charles-Town, and for the expence of this unjust war; and till all the British troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of these events, the colonies are to return to their former connections and friendship with Great-Britain; but on failure thereof, this confederation is to be perpetual,

THE

*THE following is a true copy of the Petition from the General Congress in America, to his Majesty, which we delivered to Lord Dartmouth the first of this month, and to which, his Lordship said, no answer would be given.*

Sept. 4, 1775.

Richard Penn.

Arthur Lee.

*To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.*

*Most gracious Sovereign.*

We your Majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania*, the counties of *New-Castle, Kent, and Suffex* in *Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina*, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother-country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known. Her rivals observing that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving so continual and formidable an accession of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of these settlements, from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and extension immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonies, having contributed to its success by such repeated and strenuous exertions as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your Majesty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest. While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation, or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a *new system of statutes* and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the dangers of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic dangers, in their judgement of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were their anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote



promote the welfare of the mother-country : for though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices practised by many of your Majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, which have from time to time been dealt out by them in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, which have flowed from this fatal source. Your Majesty's ministers persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent from the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequence ; our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distresses.

Knowing to what violent resentments, and incurable animosities civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your Majesty, to our fellow subjects, and ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire. Thus called upon to address your Majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office with the utmost deference to your Majesty ; and we therefore pray that your royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable constructions of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion.

Could we represent, in their full force, the sentiments which agitate the minds of us, your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your Majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence, in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our preservation against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your Majesty's person, family and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings uninterrupted by any future dissensions to succeeding generations in both countries : to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others,  
have

have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your Majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of the present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation, as might in any manner be inconsistent with *her dignity or her welfare*. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts, with unspeakable grief being once removed, your Majesty will find your faithful subjects, on this continent, ready and willing, at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your Majesty and of our mother-country.

We therefore beseech your Majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed, to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions; with all humility submitting to your Majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating these important purposes, that your Majesty may be pleased to *direct some mode* by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time measures be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects, and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your Majesty's colonies be repealed. For by such arrangements, as your Majesty's wisdom can form, for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your Majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their Sovereign and the parent-state, that the wished-for opportunity would be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most faithful subjects, and the most affectionate colonists.

That your Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendents may govern these dominions, with honour to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere and fervent prayer.

JOHN HANDCOCK, President.

|                 |                    |               |                             |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Colonies of N.  | { John Langdon.    | Delaware      | { Caesar Rodney.            |
| Hampshire,      | { Tho. Cushing.    | Counties.     | { Tho. M <sup>r</sup> Kean. |
| Massachusetts's | { Samuel Adams.    |               | { Geo. Read.                |
| Bay.            | { John Adams.      |               | { John Dickenson.           |
|                 | { Treat Paine.     |               | { Benja. Franklin.          |
|                 | { Stephen Hopkins. |               | { George Ross.              |
| Rhode Island.   | { Samuel Ward.     | Pennsylvania. | { James Wilson.             |
|                 | { Eliphant Dyar.   |               | { Charles Wilson.           |
| Connecticut.    | { Roger Sherman.   |               | { Car. Humphreys.           |
|                 | { Silas Deane.     |               | { Edward Biddle.            |
|                 |                    |               | Maryland.                   |

|              |                          |              |                           |
|--------------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| Maryland.    | Mat. Tilghman.           | New York.    | W. Livingston.            |
|              | Tho. Johnson, <i>ju.</i> |              | James Duane.              |
|              | William Pace.            |              | John Alsop.               |
|              | Samuel Chase.            |              | Francis Lewis.            |
|              | Thomas Stone.            |              | John Jay.                 |
| Virginia     | P. Henry, <i>ju.</i>     | New Jersey.  | R. Livingston, <i>ju.</i> |
|              | R. Henry Lee.            |              | Lewis Morris.             |
|              | Edm. Findleton.          |              | Wm. Floyd.                |
|              | Benj. Harrison.          |              | Henry Wisner.             |
|              | Thom. Jefferson.         |              | Wm. Livingston.           |
| S. Carolina. | H. Middletown.           | N. Carolina. | John Deharts.             |
|              | Tho. Lynch.              |              | Richard Smith.            |
|              | Chopr. Gaefden.          |              | Wm. Hooper.               |
|              | J. Rutledge              |              | Joseph Hewes.             |
|              | Edw. Rutledge.           |              |                           |

*A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, now met in General Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the Causes and Necessity of their taking up Arms.*

IF it was possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never rightly resistible, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great-Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great-Britain, however stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so as to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great-Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour and an unconquerable spirit, they affected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of Barbarians. Societies or govern-  
ments,



ments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great-Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.—Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our Sovereign to make a change in his counsels.—From that fatal moment the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and, gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to prevent victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour, from the beginning of colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his Majesty, by the late King, and by Parliament; could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and, assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits, for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the ‘murderers’ of colonists from legal trial, and, in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great-Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists, charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that Parliament can ‘of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatever.’ What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it is cho-

sen by us, or is subject to our controul or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the offensive purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language. But administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A congress of delegates from the united colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great-Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth would supplant our attachment to liberty. This, we flatter ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shewn how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech. Our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houses amongst a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons, in their address, in the month of February, said, 'that a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of Massachusetts's-Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature.' Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole colonies, with foreign countries and with each other, was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were intirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance; and large re-inforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments and eloquence of an illustrious band, of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns, in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom should redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us at the point of the

the bayonet the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising in our own mode the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who, in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment; murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country-people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General, their Governor; and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him; it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms; but, in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few, who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General further emulating his Ministerial Masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to 'declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial.'—His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charles-Town, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted; and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

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Indians

Indians to fall upon us ; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feels, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of chusing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just : Our union is perfect : Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly before God and the world declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabated firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die free-men rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies, with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory, or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion, of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it ; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers, and ourselves ; against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all dangers of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial judge and ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine



vine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

*Philadelphia, July 6, 1775.  
By order of the Congress.*

} JOHN HANDCOCK, *President.*  
Attest. CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

*Reasons assigned by the Continental Congress, for the North American Colonies and Provinces withdrawing their Allegiance to the King of Great-Britain.*

**A DECLARATION** *by the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled.*  
July 4, 1776.

WHEN in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of *Nature's God* intitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed; but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present — of — —, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States, To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

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He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the rights of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolution, to cause others to be erected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their emigrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of Peace standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their pretended acts of legislation:—For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:—For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.—For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:—For imposing taxes upon us without our consent:—For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury:—For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:—For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:—For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:—For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

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He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war with us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts, by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us; we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here; we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connection, and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme JUDGE of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connections between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

*Signed by order, and in behalf* } JOHN HANDCOCK, *President.*  
*of the Congress.*

*Attest.* CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*  
*Articles*



*Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, on Delaware-River, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia.*

N. B. These articles of Confederation, after having been long weighed and discussed, line by line, in the Congress, were at length resolved upon and signed by all the Delegates, the 4th of October, 1776, at Philadelphia, such as they are here set forth; and in consequence were immediately sent to the other States to be confirmed by them.

ARTICLE I. The Thirteen States above mentioned, confederate themselves under the title of The UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

II. They contract, each in their own name, by the present constitution, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other against all violence that may threaten all, or any one of them, and to repel in common all the attacks that may be levelled against all or any one of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatsoever:

III. Each State reserves to themselves alone the exclusive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws in all matters that are not included in the articles of the present Confederation, and which cannot any way prejudice the same.

IV. No State in particular shall either send or receive embassies, begin any negotiations, contract any engagements, form any alliances, conclude any treaties with any king, prince, or power whatsoever without the consent of the United States, assembled in General Congress.

No person, invested with any post whatever under the authority of the United States, or of any of them, whether he has appointments belonging to his employment, or whether it be a commission purely confidential, shall be allowed to accept any presents, gratuities, emoluments, nor any offices or titles of any kind whatever, from any kings, princes, or foreign powers.

And the General Assembly of the united States, nor any State in particular, shall not confer any title of nobility.

V. Two, nor several of the said States, shall not have power to form alliances or confederations, nor conclude any private treaty among themselves, without the consent of the United States assembled in General Congress, and without the aim and duration of that private convention be exactly specified in the consent.

VI. No State shall lay on any imposts, nor establish any duties whatever, the effect of which might alter directly, or indirectly, the clauses of the treaties to be concluded, hereafter by the Assembly of the United States with any kings, princes, or power whatsoever.

VII. There shall not be kept by any of the said States, in particular, any vessels or ships of war above the number judged necessary by  
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the Assembly of the United States, for the defence of that State and its commerce; and there shall not be kept on foot in time of peace by any of the said States, any troops above the number determined by the Assembly of the United States, to guard the strong places or forts necessary for the defence of that State; but each State shall always keep a well-disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and equipped, and shall be careful to procure, and keep in constant readiness, in the public magazines, a sufficient number of field pieces and tents, with a proper quantity of ammunition and implements of war.

VIII. When any of the said States shall raise troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank of colonel and under, shall be appointed by the legislative body of the State that shall have raised the troops, or in such manner as that State shall have judged proper to regulate the nominations; and when any vacancy happens in these posts, they shall be filled up by the said State.

IX. All the expences of war, and all other disbursements, that shall be made for the common defence or the general weal, and that shall be ordered by the Assembly of the United States, shall be paid out of the funds of a common treasury.

That common treasury shall be formed by the contribution of each of the aforesaid States, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants of every age, sex, or quality, except the Indians exempt from taxes in each State; and in order to fix the quota of the contribution, every three years the inhabitants shall be numbered, in which enumeration the number of white people shall be distinguished: and that enumeration shall be sent to the Assembly of the United States.

The taxes appropriated to pay this quota, shall be laid and levied in the extent of each State by the authority and orders of its legislative body, within the time fixed by the Assembly of the United States.

X. Each of the said States shall submit to the decisions of the Assembly of the United States, in all matters or questions reserved to that Assembly by the present act of Confederation.

XI. No State shall engage in war without the consent of the United States assembled in Congress, except in case of actual invasion of some enemy, or from a certain knowledge of a resolution taken by some Indian nation to attack them, and in that case only, in which the danger is too urgent to allow them time to consult the other States.

No particular State shall give any commission to vessels, or other ships of war, nor any letters of marque or reprisal, till after a declaration of war made by the Assembly of the United States; and even in that case they shall be granted only against the kingdom or the power, or against the subjects of the kingdom, or of the power against which war shall have been so declared; and shall conform, respecting these objects, to the regulations made by the Assembly of the United States.

XI. In order to watch over the general interest of the United States, and direct the general affairs, there shall be nominated every year according to the form settled by the legislative body of each State, a certain number of delegates, who shall sit at Philadelphia until the General Assembly of the United States shall have ordered otherwise; and

the first Monday in November of each year, shall be the æra fixed for their meeting.

Each of the above mentioned States shall preserve the right and power to recall, at any time whatever of the year, their delegates, or any one of them, and to send others in the room of them for the remainder of the year; and each of the said States shall maintain their delegates during the time of the General Assembly, and also during the time they shall be members of the Council of State, of which mention shall be made hereafter.

XIII. Each State shall have a vote for the decision of questions in the General Assembly.

XIV. The General Assembly of the United States, shall alone and exclusively have the right and power to decide of peace and war, except in the case mentioned in article XI.—to establish rules for judging in all cases the legitimacy of the prizes taken by sea or land, and to determine the manner in which the prizes taken by the land or sea forces, in the service of the United States, shall be divided or employed;—to grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace;—to appoint tribunals to take cognizance of piracies, and all other capital crimes committed on the high seas;—to establish tribunals to receive appeals, and judge finally in all cases of prizes;—to send and receive ambassadors;—to negotiate and conclude treaties and alliances—to decide all differences actually subsisting, and that may arise hereafter between two or several of the aforementioned States, about limits, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatsoever;—to coin money, and fix its value and standard;—to fix the weights and measures throughout the whole extent of the United States;—to regulate commerce, and treat of all affairs with the Indians who are not members of any of the States;—to establish and regulate the posts from one State to another, in the whole extent of the United States, and to receive on the letters and packets sent by post, the necessary tax to defray the expence of that establishment;—to appoint the general officers of the land forces in the service of the United States;—to give commissions to the other officers of the said troops, who shall have been appointed by virtue of article VIII;—to appoint all officers of marine in the service of the United States; to frame all the ordinances necessary for the government and discipline of the said land and sea forces; and to direct their operations.

The General Assembly of the United States shall be authorized to appoint a Council of State, and such committees and civil officers as they shall judge necessary for guiding and dispatching the general affairs, under their authority, whilst they remain sitting; and after their separation, under the authority of the Council of State.—They shall chuse for president one of their members, and for secretary the person whom they shall judge fit for that place; and they may adjourn at what time of the year, and to what place in the United States they shall think proper.—They shall have the right and power to determine and fix the sum necessary to be raised, and the disbursements necessary to be made:—to borrow money, and to create bills on the credit of the United States;—to build and fit out fleets;—to determine the number of troops to be raised or kept in pay;—and to require of each of the  
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foresaid States, to compose the army, a contingent proportioned to the number of its white inhabitants.—These requisitions of the General Assembly shall be binding, and in consequence the legislative body of each State shall nominate the particular officers, levy the men, arm and equip them properly; and these officers and soldiers, thus armed and equipped, shall proceed to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Assembly.

But if the General Assembly from some particular circumstances, should think proper to exempt one or several of the States from raising troops, or to demand of them less than their contingent, and should on the contrary judge it convenient that one or several others should raise more than their contingent: the number extraordinary demanded shall be raised, provided with officers armed and equipped in the same manner as the contingent, unless the legislative body of that, or of those of the State to whom the requisition shall have been made, should deem it dangerous for themselves to be drained of that number extraordinary, and in that case they shall furnish no more than what they think compatible with their safety; and the officers and soldiers so raised and equipped, shall go to the place and within the time fixed by the General Assembly,

The General assembly shall never engage in any war, nor grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace, nor contract any treaties of alliance or other conventions, except to make peace, nor coin money or regulate its value, nor determine or fix the sums necessary to be raised, or the disbursements necessary to be made for the defence or advantage of the United States, or of some of them, nor create bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor dispose of any sums of money, nor resolve on the number of ships of war to be built or purchased, or on the number of troops to be raised for land or sea service, nor appoint a commander or chief of the land or sea forces, but by the united consent of nine of the States: and no question on any point whatsoever, except for adjourning from one day to another, shall be decided but by a majority of the United States.

No delegate shall be chosen for more than three years out of six.

No person invested with any employment whatever in the extent of the United States, and receiving, by virtue of that employment, either by himself or through the hands of any other for him, any salaries, wages, emoluments whatever, shall be chosen a delegate.

The General Assembly shall publish every month a journal of their sessions, except what shall relate to treaties, alliances, or military operations, when it shall appear to them that these matters ought to be kept secret. The opinions *pro* and *con* of the delegates of each State, shall be entered in the journals as often as any one of the delegates of each State, on their demand or even to any one of the delegates of each state, at his particular requisition, a copy of the journal, except of the parts abovementioned, to be carried to the legislative body of his respective State.

XV. The Council of State shall be composed of one delegate of each of the States, nominated annually by other delegates of his respective State;

State; and the case where the electors might not be able to agree, that delegate shall be nominated by the General Assembly.

The Council of State shall be authorised to receive and open all the letters addressed to the United States, and answer them; but shall not contract any engagements binding to the United States.—They shall correspond with the legislative bodies of each State, and with all persons employed under the authority of the United States, or of some of the particular legislative bodies.—They shall address themselves to these legislative bodies, or to the officers to whom each State shall have entrusted the executive power, for aid and assistance of every kind, as occasion shall require.—They shall give instructions to the generals, and direct the military operations by land or by sea; but without making any alterations in the objects or expeditions determined by the General Assembly, unless a change of circumstances intervening and coming to their knowledge since the breaking up of the Assembly, should render a change of measures indispensably necessary. They shall be careful of the defence and preservation of the fortresses or fortified ports.—They shall procure information of the situation and designs of the enemy.—They shall put in execution the measures and plans that shall have been resolved by the General Assembly, by virtue of the powers with which they are invested by the present confederation.—They shall draw upon the treasurers for the sums, the destination of which shall have been settled by the General Assembly, and for the payment of the contracts which they may have made by virtue of the powers that are granted to them.—They shall inspect and reprove, they shall even suspend all officers civil or military acting under the authority of the United States.—In the case of death or suspension of any officer whose nomination belongs to the General Assembly, they may replace him by what person they think proper until the next Assembly.—They may publish and disperse authentic accounts of the military operations.—They may convene the General Assembly for a nearer term than that to which they had adjourned when they separated, if any important and unexpected event should require it for the welfare or benefit of the United States, or of some of them.—They shall prepare the matters that are to be submitted to the inspection of the General Assembly, and lay before them at the next sitting all the letters or advices by them received, and shall render an exact account of all that they have in the interim.—They shall take for their secretary a person fit for that employment, who before he enters on his function shall take an oath of secrecy and fidelity.—The presence of seven members of the Council will empower them to act.—In case of the death of one of their members, the Council shall give notice of it to the colleagues of the deceased, that they may chuse one of themselves to replace him in the Council until the holding of the next general meeting; and in case there should be one of his colleagues living the same notice shall be given to him, that he may come and take his seat until the next sitting.

XVI. In case that Canada should be willing to accede to the present confederation, and come into all the measures of the United States, it shall be admitted into the union, and participate in all its benefits. But no other colony shall be admitted without the consent of nine of the States.

The

The above articles shall be proposed to the legislative bodies of all the United States, to be examined by them; and if they approve of them, they are desired to authorise their delegates to ratify them in the General Assembly; after which all the articles which constitute the present confederation, shall be inviolably observed by all and every of the United States, and the union shall be established for ever.

There shall not be made hereafter any alteration in these articles, nor in any of them, unless that the alteration be previously determined in the General Assembly, and confirmed afterwards by the legislative bodies of each of the United States.

Resolved and signed at Philadelphia, in Congress, the 4th of October, 1776.

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*Treaty of Alliance, Eventual and Defensive, between his Most Christian Majesty Louis the Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre, and the Thirteen United States of America, concluded at Paris, 6th February, 1778.*

The Most Christian King and the United States of North-America, to wit, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, having this day concluded a treaty of amity and commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their subjects and citizens, have thought it necessary to take into consideration the means of strengthening those engagements, and of rendering them useful to the safety and tranquility of the two parties; particularly in case Great Britain, in resentment of that connection, and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said treaty, should break the peace with France, either by direct hostilities, or by hindering her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace subsisting between the two crowns.—And his Majesty and the said United States having resolved in that case to join their councils and efforts against the enterprizes of their common enemy.

The respective Plenipotentiaries, impowered to concert the clauses and conditions proper to fulfil the said intentions, have, after the most mature deliberation, concluded and determined on the following articles.

ARTICLE I. If war should break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the present war between the United States and England, his Majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils, and their forces, according to the exigency of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies.

II. The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is, to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States as well in matters of government as of commerce.

III. The two contracting parties shall each on its own part, and in the



the manner it may judge most proper, make all the efforts in its power against their common enemy, in order to attain the end proposed.

IV. The contracting parties agree, that in case either of them should form a particular enterprize in which the concurrence of the other may be desired, the party whose concurrence is desired, shall readily and with good faith join to act in concert for that purpose, as far as circumstances and its own particular situation will permit; and in that case, they shall regulate by a particular convention the quantity and kind of succour to be furnished, and the time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its compensation.

V. If the United States should think fit to attempt the reduction of the British power, remaining in the Northern parts of America, or the islands of Bermudas, those countries or islands in case of success, shall be confederated with, or dependant upon, the said United States.

VI. The most Christian King renounces for ever the possession of the islands of Bermudas, as well as of any part of the continent of America, which before the treaty of Paris, in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called British Colonies, or which are at this time, or have lately been, under the power of the King and crown of Great Britain.

VII. If his Most Christian Majesty shall think proper to attack any of the islands situated in the Gulph of Mexico, or near that Gulph, which are at present under the power of Great Britain, all the said isles, in case of success, shall appertain to the crown of France.

VIII. Neither of the two parties shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States shall have been formally or tacitly assured by the treaty or treaties that shall terminate the war.

IX. The contracting parties declare, that, being resolved to fulfil, each on its own part, the clauses and conditions of the present treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumstances, there shall be no after-claims of compensation, on one side or the other, whatever may be the event of the war.

X. The Most Christian King and United States agree, to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common cause with them, and to accede to the present alliance, under such conditions as shall be freely agreed to, and settled between all the parties.

XI. The two parties guarantee mutually from the present time, and for ever, against all other powers, to wit—The United States to his Most Christian Majesty the present possessions of the crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace; and his Most Christian Majesty guarantees on his part to the United States, their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions, and the additions or conquests that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now or heretofore

fore possessed by Great Britain in North America; conformable to the fifth and sixth articles above written, the whole as their possessions shall be fixed and assured to the said States, at the moment of the cessation of their present war with England.

XII. In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that in case of a rupture between France and England, the reciprocal guarantee declared in the said article shall have its full force and effect the moment such war shall break out; and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the said guarantees shall not commence until the moment of the cessation of the present war between the United States and England, shall have ascertained their possessions.

XIII. The present treaty shall be ratified on both sides, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six months, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of the Most Christian King, Conrad Alexander Gerard, Royal Syndic of the city of Strasbourg, and Secretary of his Majesty's Council of State—And on the part of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, deputy to the General Congress, from the State of Pennsylvania, and President of the convention of said State; Silas Deane, heretofore deputy from the State of Connecticut; and Arthur Lee, Councillor at Law, have signed the above articles both in the French and English languages; declaring nevertheless, that the present treaty was originally composed and concluded in the French language, and have hereunto affixed their seals.

*Done at Paris, the sixth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.*

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|--------|---------------|
| (L.S.) | C. A. GERARD, |
| (L.S.) | B. FRANKLIN,  |
| (L.S.) | SILAS DEANE,  |
| (L.S.) | ARTHUR LEE.   |

*Evidence as given before a Committee of the House of Commons, on the enquiry into the conduct of the American War, under the command of Lord and General Sir William Howe.*

Major-general Lord Cornwallis was the first witness called, and, as a Peer, was allowed to sit within the bar. He was examined by Sir William Howe, Mr. De Grey, Mr. James Luttrell, Commissioner Eden, Mr. G. Onslow, and others; but the greatest part of the questions put to him relating to mere matter of opinion, his Lordship declined answering them, and confined himself to matters of fact.

The issue of a very long examination was a clear and honourable justification of the military operations of the army, and of the fleet; his Lordship declared that he knew of no delay, nor of any opportunity lost to bring the enemy to action; and it appeared that the General's humanity

humanity was equal to his wisdom; he would not slaughter men for the sole purpose of destroying them, without answering any end.

The next evidence was Major-General Grey, who scrupled not to give his opinion as often as called for; and among other things he said, in order to shew that the Commander in Chief could not advance with that rapidity which might have been expected after victories, that the country was so full of woods, convenient for ambuscades, and afforded so many advantageous situations for disputing the passage of an army, that the Rebels might have disputed every hundred yards of ground.

Sir Andrew Hammond of the Navy, being next called by Lord Howe, who found himself obliged to call upon this Officer, in order to oppose his evidence to the imputation thrown out against Sir William Howe by Lord George Germaine in a former debate, for having failed to Chesapeak-Bay, when he might have landed his army on the banks of the Delaware.

Sir Andrew, in the course of his examination, asserted, that very great danger would have attended a landing in that river, as well from the rapidity of the tides, which flow three miles and a half an hour, as from the force of the enemy, which consisted of half a dozen frigates stationed at different places, twelve row gallies and between 25 and 30 fire rafts.—The gallies he had fought two days successively one day for five hours, the other six. From these difficulties and obstructions, and from the motions of Washington's army towards Wilmington, he thought the expedition to the head of the Elk very expedient and very prudent.—He, however, admitted that the Commanders in Chief must have been acquainted with all these difficulties before they sailed from New-York for the Delaware; he admitted that an army might certainly have landed in the Delaware; but while he admitted the possibility of such a measure, he denied the expediency of it.

Sir Andrew being asked whether Washington might not have marched from Wilmington, to oppose the landing at the head of the Elk, as well as he could have marched to the Delaware to oppose it, both places being equally distant from Wilmington? The witness replied, that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the march of armies, to be able to answer that question.

To shew the great inconvenience of landing in the face of the enemy at Newcastle, Sir Andrew, in answer to questions put by Sir William Howe, informed the Committee, that little use could have been made of the line of battle ships, as it was generally from them the ships boats were manned to land the army: there were 75 boats with 12 men and an officer in each, in all 975 employed in that service; and no more than 3,375 soldiers could be landed at one trip; he admitted, however, that near the Elk the militia of three lower counties on Delaware, each corps between four and five hundred strong, were in force under the command of a Brigadier-general.

The next evidence was Colonel Montroser, who acted as chief Engineer in America; he, in answer to questions proposed, observed, that the lines on Long Island were so very strong, that, the morning they were evacuated, it was with great difficulty that he and a corporal's party of six men could get into them to view them. They were finely designed;



designed; so were all the works he saw raised by the Rebels, but not judiciously executed. The works could not be taken by assault or storm; they called for regular approaches. It would be a forlorn hope to commit naked men to storm redoubts, without fascines, scaling ladders, &c. If they had attempted, and got possession of the intermediate part of the lines, they could not live an instant in them, so long as the redoubts on the flanks were held by the enemy. They extended in front about two thousand yards, from the swamp on the left to the water. On being asked, if the 23d regiment and the grenadiers of the army might have penetrated? he said, there was not room for a single man to pass between the end of the line and the swamp; but if the swamp had not been impassable, there would be no living for naked troops under the fire of the redoubt. The lines were evacuated in the night of the 28th, and he discovered it at four o'clock the next morning, with the patrol already mentioned. He saw the rear embarking, and several boats (four or five) passing over to York-island. The bringing up fascines, ladders, &c. would have been the work of some hours; and if they were at hand, he did not think that the lines could be taken by assault, without the hazarding a defeat, or at least purchasing a victory very dearly, and by a great loss of lives—nor in any manner, in his opinion, but by regular approaches.

Relative to Washington's position, in the mountain above Quibbleton, he did not think it advisable to force its camp. He thought the risk and danger greatly outweighed the probability of success.

The General could take no new position, to draw Washington from his camp, without manifest hazard; the exposing of New-York, or of being cut off from his communications both with that city and the new-river.

The next evidence examined, was Mr. Mackenize, Secretary to Sir William Howe, relative to certain letters he had received; the one was from Gen. Burgoyne to Sir William, acquainting his Excellency of his arrival before Ticonderago; that he only waited for some heavy artillery, which was detained by contrary winds, and prevented vessels to cross the lakes, to open batteries against that fortress; that as soon as he should be master of it, he would leave engineers behind him, to put it in an impregnable state: that he had been joined by a large body of Indians, and expected still a larger; that he intended to advance with all possible expedition to Albany; and that he was happy to inform his Excellency, that the enemy did not seem to have the least suspicion of any further object of his expedition than the reduction of Ticonderago.—This letter arrived at New-York the 17th of July, 1777, and was answered by Sir William Howe the same day, which was the last but one before the army sailed from New-York; the answer was, that he had heard of the surrender of Ticonderago; that he was going to the southward upon an expedition, which he thought would be a diversion in favour of the northern army; that if Washington should go to the north, and Gen. Burgoyne could keep him at bay for a while, he (Sir William) made no doubt but he should arrive time enough to hem Washington in: in the mean time he had given instructions to Sir Henry

Clinton to make every diversion in his power in favour of the northern army.

Sir George Osborne was next examined in his place by Sir William Howe, in order to wipe away all imputation of want of generalship in extending too far his cantonments in the Jerseys, by which the loss at Trentown was sustained. Sir William asked Sir George, if he remembered Colonel Donop to have said any thing relative to that affair: he replied, that Colonel Donop had said, that if Colonel Rhal had observed the instructions given to him from Sir William Howe, it would have been impossible for the enemy to force his brigade before he (Colonel Donop) should have brought him a re-inforcement. He was next asked what orders he (Sir George) had received the night before the action at German-town. The orders were, he replied, to march the brigade of guards half a mile in front of the line of infantry; and with those orders intimation had been given him that he would find himself attacked at break of day by the enemy. Sir Richard Sutton asked, how far the enemy had marched in order to attack our post at German-town? The answer was—About nine or ten miles. How far our troops had marched in order to sustain the force at German-town?—Answer—About five miles. On the difference in the length of the marches, and the greater or lesser degree of fatigue occasioned by them, was grounded the following question put by Sir Richard: were the enemy better able after a march of ten miles to retreat, than our troops after a march of five to pursue? To that question Sir George declined giving any answer.

Governor Johnston asked if our troops at German-town had been surprized, Sir George could answer for those only under his own command;—and he flattered himself that after the information of an intended attack at day-break, the Committee would do him the justice to suppose that he had not been surprized.—Was any part of the army surprized? I cannot tell.—Were the Hessians to the left surprized?—I do not know.—Was their Commander Lieutenant-general Knyphausen apprised of the probability of our attack; I do not know; the General certainly did not communicate to him, a Lieutenant-colonel only, the commands given to general Officers. Did he learn from conversation with Officers after the action, that a part of the army had been surprized? A direct answer was not given; but Sir George said that he learned from the conversation of the Officers, that they were well satisfied with the care the General took of his army.

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*Evidence on the Canada Expedition, under the Command of General Burgoyne.*

The evidence on the part of Lord and Sir William Howe being closed, General Burgoyne informed the Committee, that he had summoned witnesses to be ready to give evidence on that part of the enquiry which related to the Canada expedition; he then desired Sir Guy Carleton might be called in.

General

General Burgoyne asked him a great number of questions. The most material were, If he had disapproved of his conduct in any respect while he acted under his command? To which Sir Guy replied, 'I never had any reason.' He then asked him about the quantity and species of artillery proper for the expedition to force his way to Albany; and the answers proved the propriety of General Burgoyne's taking with him the train that he did from Ticonderago.

In regard to General Burgoyne's orders from home, being asked if they were peremptory for him to force his way to Albany at all events, he did not chuse to answer, being matter of opinion.

The Earl of Belcarras, commander of the British light infantry under the late Brigadier-general Frazer, was called in.

The points that Gen. Burgoyne, who opened the examination, wished to establish by Lord Belcarras's evidence were, that he had not with his army more artillery than was deemed necessary by his Staff-officers; that he had not crossed the Hudson's river contrary to the opinion of his General Officers; that the rebel army was brave, numerous, and disciplined; and that he had not surrendered while there was even a shadow of a possibility of retreating or advancing.

The army was perfectly satisfied with their General's conduct in every action, and in every instance, both before and after the capitulation. Lord Belcarras said, that when Col. Kingston returned from Gen. Gates with this proposal—that the British troops should lay down their arms in their trenches, and march out prisoners of war, Gen. Burgoyne rejected the proposal with disdain, saying he would not put his name to so dishonourable a treaty! that having afterwards penned the articles that were signed, the Council of War had unauimously assented to them; that after terms had been agreed on between both armies, and before the treaty was signed, Gen. Burgoyne had communicated to the Council some intelligence he had received in the night from a spy, and asked if he could suspend the treaty, and trust to events, without any breach of public faith; and that the Council had been of opinion that the public faith would be violated by such a proceeding.

In answer to some questions proposed by Colonel Barre, the noble Lord said, that in every situation of danger and difficulty General Burgoyne possessed himself, and enjoyed the confidence, the respect, the esteem of the army. He had never heard one officer or common soldier complain of him for his return to England, but he had heard the whole army express a wish that he should be the man to inform his Majesty of their conduct, and point out in the closet the men who had most particularly distinguished themselves in the trying expedition. Although his return in personal disgrace, and without the usual distribution of preferment to the principal officers, could be of no avail to them in their captivity, yet in so far as he had, through the whole expedition, shared fatigue, danger, and calamity in common with them, they looked upon him as their friend, and they would have received him with the sincerest pleasure.

The next witness examined was Captain Money, Deputy-adjutant-general, in the Canada expedition. He was still stronger in favour, if possible, than the noble Lord, acting in a more general capacity, and spoke



spoke to a great variety of most striking and important facts. Among others, he stated that the battle of the 7th of October, in which General Frazer was killed, if not the loss of the whole army, was owing to the flight of a battalion of Brunswickers, who ran without losing a single man on the first charge, and would never afterwards be rallied, but lay upon their fire-arms in a confused unformed manner, at the rear of the artillery. A number of novel facts and reasons were drawn from this Gentleman, who seemed to be a most able and intelligent Officer.

The Earl of Harrington (late Viscount Petersham) was called in, and examined by Gen. Burgoyne. His evidence tended to shew that after the battle of Hubbardton it would have been imprudent to have pursued the enemy farther than they had been pursued, and that prudence scarcely justified the General in pursuing as far as he had done; that General Burgoyne had endeavoured by every means in his power, to restrain the enormities of the Indians; that he permitted them, because they insisted on it, to scalp the dead, and offered them rewards for bringing in rebels alive; that when the murder of Miss M'Creagh had reached his ears, the General went to the Indian camp, insisted that the culprit should be delivered up, and declared that he should suffer death. Lord Harrington confessed, that he himself was one of those British Officers, who, from the General's determined language, were afraid he would put his threats into execution: which policy at that time, he would have condemned as dangerous, on account of the ravages they might commit on their return through Canada. His Lordship proved, that when Mons. St. Luc informed the General of the discontent that reigned among the Indians at the restraint under which they were kept, the latter had said, that he had rather lose every Indian in his army than connive at their enormities; that no part of Indians was ever suffered to go out without having an Officer at their head, who should be responsible for their behaviour. As to the orders the General had received to force his way to Albany, his Lordship declared it to have been the general opinion of the army, expressed in their conversations, that a passage was at all events to be made to Albany.

His Lordship shewed likewise, as far as his opinion went, the propriety of passing the Hudson's river, and of several military manœuvres upon which he was examined; upon the whole, his Lordship's evidence went greatly to exculpate his General.

The Major of the 24th was next examined; and after him Captain Bloomfield, but as their evidence was to the same purpose as those examined before them, we think it unnecessary to insert them.